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ICONOGRAPHY OF THE CLOISTER OF MONREALE¹

CARL D. SHEPPARD, JR.

THE Benedictine cloister attached to the cathedral of Monreale preserves the largest as well as the most impressive group of sculptures to survive from the period of Norman domination over Sicily and southern Italy. Situated only a few miles from Palermo on the slope of a rugged hill, it overlooks a fertile valley with the shores of the Mediterranean in the near distance. The cloister was built during the relatively short period of years between 1172 and 1189 by William II.²

The population of Sicily, at this time, consisted primarily of Mohammedans and Greek Christians. The Normans consequently conducted their affairs in three languages, Latin, Greek, and Arabic. Scholars, administrators, scientists, merchants and military men thronged Palermo in their service, coming from the extremes of western civilization, Constantinople and Antioch, London and Paris. This mixed crowd, practicing a variety of religions, speaking a babel of tongues, was welded into the wealthiest, most efficient state of Europe.³ The luxurious monastery of Monreale, especially the cloister, is a fitting expression of this polyglot civilization. The styles and iconography of the sculptures of the cloister show a lack of cohesion. It is as if all the prominent artistic trends and intellectual developments of the twelfth century in Europe and the Byzantine East had been brought together in Sicily and then utilized with little heed for consistency.

In spite of the disparate elements of the stylistic and iconographic ordonnance of the cloister, a certain amount of harmony was originally achieved through a pervasive classicism. The result was the dominance of classical decorative motifs and the subordination of the religious subjects represented. Only sixteen of the one hundred and nine pairs of capitals are historiated.⁴ Of these, thirteen have religious scenes, two are secular in nature but utilize religious symbols to express their lay subjects, and one has a series of the Labors of the Months. By far the great majority of the capitals have purely decorative elements. The next largest category of capitals is that which utilizes the human figure, in repose or action, in a non-symbolic way. The over-all effect of the cloister sculptures is thus one of ornate plastic decoration. The famous words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux are most appropriate to Monreale, "But in the cloister. . . . To what purpose are those unclean apes, those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those half-men, those striped tigers, those hunters

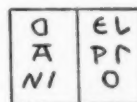
1. This essay is taken from material used for my doctoral dissertation, "The Sculpture of the Benedictine Cloister of Monreale," prepared at Harvard University under the guidance of Professors C. R. Post and Wilhelm Koehler. The material was gathered at Monreale while I was attached to the U.S. Naval Operating Base, Palermo, and I am greatly indebted to my then commanding officer, Commodore B. V. McCandlish, for permitting me to avail myself of the opportunity presented.

2. In the document setting forth his donations to Monreale, William II refers to the monastery as having been started *sub principio nostri regiminis*, or in the year 1172, when he personally took over the government and the regency ceased to function. For this reference see: Domenico Gravina, *Il Duomo di Monreale*, Palermo, 1854, p. 29. The date 1189 is taken as a *terminus ante quem* since William II died in that year and the Norman kingdom was plunged into foreign and civil wars.

The documents pertaining to the monastery have most recently been summarized by Lynn White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 133ff.

3. F. Chalandon: *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, Paris, 1907, and "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge, 1943, v, pp. 167-208.

4. Two more pairs of capitals are sculptured with scenes. One, capitals 78, defies identification, and the other, capitals 24, has the symbols of the four Evangelists at the corners with the additional figure of Daniel, standing beside a two-tailed mermaid. The prophet holds a scroll inscribed as follows:



winding their horns?"⁵ Even St. Bernard does not exhaust the list of the real and fantastic subjects displayed by the sculptures in the cloister, such as women who bare their breasts, or the God Mithras sacrificing his bull (Fig. 1). "For God's sake," continues St. Bernard, "if men are not ashamed of these follies, why at least do they not shrink from the expense?" Wealthy William II spared no expense in building and munificently endowing his monastery at Monreale. The secular spirit against which St. Bernard inveighed appears to triumph there, clothed partially in the antique garb of a revived classicism.

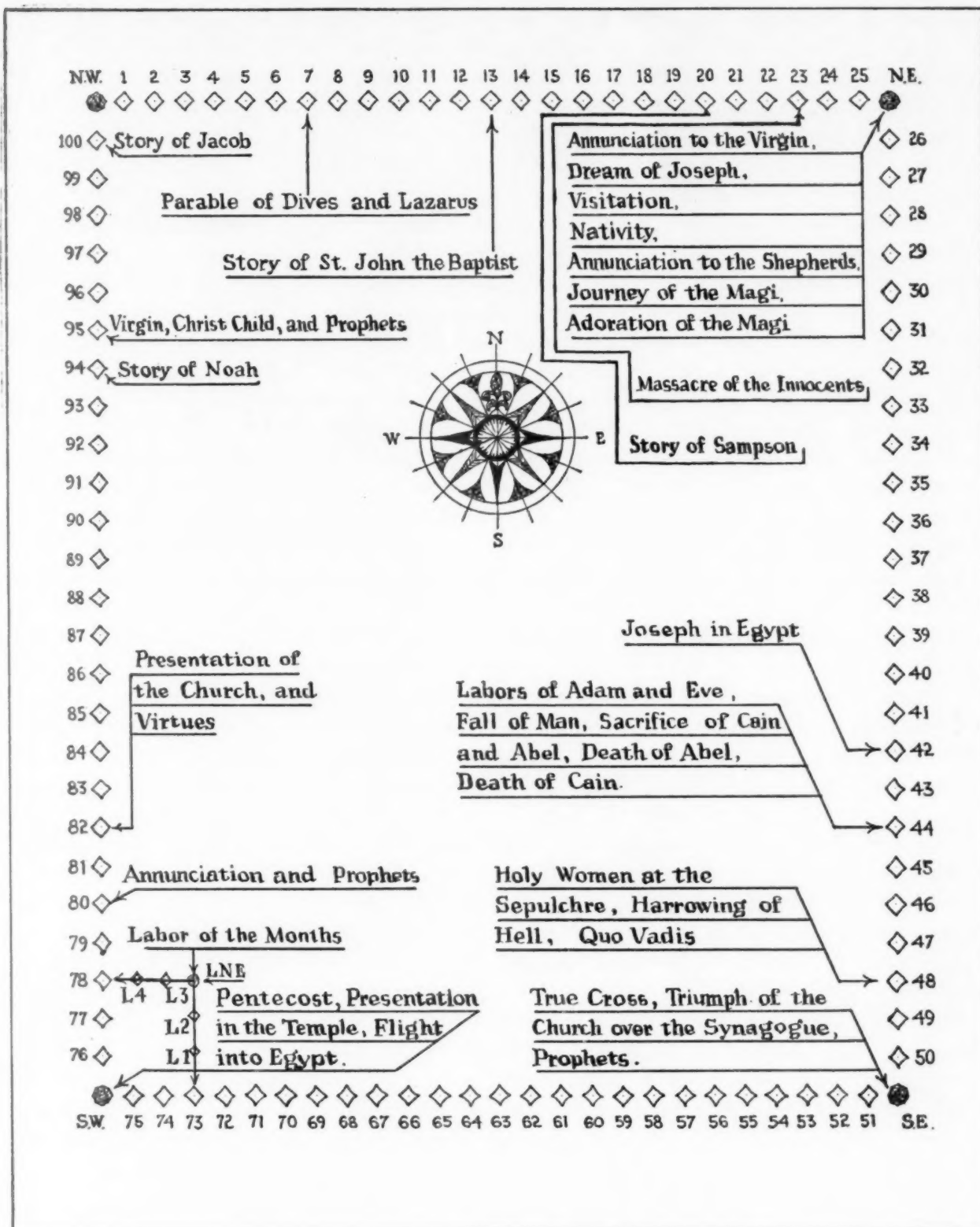
In addition to classical motifs, the cloister sculptors copied and transformed elements of Arabic, Byzantine, and northern French designs. These different traditions were not synthesized but exist side by side on successive capitals. All the capitals of the cloister are paired and are usually carved from a single block. At each corner of the cloister, the pairs are doubled, making a quadrilobed capital. For convenience, the pairs of capitals have been numbered from one to one hundred starting at the northwest angle of the cloister, excluding the corner quadrilobed capitals.

Several sources were used simultaneously for decorative motifs as well as for the selection of the historiated scenes. As might be expected, many of the religious themes are related to the Byzantine iconographic tradition so brilliantly embodied in the mosaic cycles of the cathedral of Monreale, the Martorana and the Cappella Palatina of Palermo, and the cathedral of Cefalù. More unexpected is the dependence of several series at Monreale upon prototypes well established in Lombardy. Less important is the relation of two pairs of cloister capitals to a series of bas-reliefs in Campania at Naples. In keeping with this diffusion of sources is the occasional combination of iconographic traditions, such as the mixture of eastern and western models for the Holy Women at the Sepulchre.

The historiated capitals cover a wide range of sacred history from the Fall of Man to events after the Crucifixion but their selection appears arbitrary and capricious, as the following list will show. The list begins on the north side and proceeds around the cloister clockwise (see *Plan* below): parable of Dives and Lazarus; scenes from the Life of Sampson; the Massacre of the Innocents; the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Dream of Joseph, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Journey of the Magi, the Adoration of the Magi; the story of Joseph in Egypt; the Fall of Man, Expulsion from Paradise, the Labors of Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, the Death of Abel, the Death of Cain; the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Quo Vadis, the Harrowing of Hell; the True Cross, the Triumph of the Church over the Synagogue, two scenes of prophets (?); the Labors of the Months; Pentecost, Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt; Annunciation to the Virgin, and prophets; the donation of the cathedral of Monreale to the Christ Child, and Virtues; scenes from the story of Noah; the Virgin and Child, with prophets; and scenes from the story of Jacob. A glance at the chart will show that the capitals with these scenes are not arranged in any logical sequence nor in any way to mark their importance. Even one of the corner groups of capitals received only pure decoration. It will also be noted that not one historiated capital is located along the south walk.

One aspect of the iconography of the cloister which is of special interest is the use of familiar religious symbols or traditional forms to express contemporary events. It is typical of Romanesque civilization that important social or political events were symbolized and expressed in religious terms. The establishment and endowment of the monastery of Monreale is the subject of capitals 82 of the west walk. On the south side of these capitals is inscribed the following legend: REX QUI CUNCTA REGIS SÆCULI DATA SUSCIPE REGIS. Beneath the words is, indeed, William II presenting the cathedral of Monreale, Santa Maria Nuova, to the King of Kings (Fig. 2). William is aided by an angel as he holds a model of the cathedral. The Christ Child, supported on the lap of his

5. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt (ed.), *Literary Sources of Art History*, Princeton, 1947, p. 19.



Monreale, Cloister: plan showing positions of historiated capitals

mother, blesses and receives the gift. The organization of this scene is like a traditional Adoration of the Magi.

The use of a traditional theme to present this episode differentiates it from the comparable donor and coronation scenes pictured in mosaic in the cathedral of Monreale and in the Martorana of

Palermo. In the Martorana, Roger II is crowned by Christ, and in another scene his admiral, George of Antioch, donor of the church, prostrates himself at the feet of the Virgin. At Monreale, William II appears twice, once crowned by Christ and a second time offering an unfinished model of the church to the Virgin. These coronation and donation scenes follow the manner established at Santa Sophia in Byzantium by the splendid mosaics of the narthex and galleries. The cloister sculpture is unusual because it puts to new use a set iconographic form. The cathedral is actually dedicated to the Virgin and there is no need for the Christ Child to appear in the sculptured scene.

The inspiration for another action of the king, the taking of the Cross for the Holy Land, may well be symbolized by the figures of the southeast quadrilobed capital. The hordes of Europe were assembling at Messina for the Third Crusade in 1189 when he died. On the north side of the quadrilobed capital appears the True Cross flanked by the Emperor Constantine and his mother, St. Helena (Fig. 3). On the east side is the Triumph of the Church over the Synagogue.⁶ A man holding a shallow cup and a queen are carved on the west side (Fig. 4), and two turbaned men with long beards, holding their tunics up to their knees, appear on the south side (Fig. 5). The iconographic disposition of these scenes is altogether unique as well as somewhat ambiguous.

Many reliquaries of the True Cross following a type developed in the Byzantine style are preserved from this time. The True Cross is represented with two bars. The Emperor Constantine grasps the Cross in his left hand while St. Helena places her right hand below that of her son. Examples of these reliquaries are to be found throughout Italy and Sicily.⁷ There is still an excellent version in steatite at Lentini, Sicily,⁸ and one was probably in possession of the cathedral of Monreale.⁹

While there is no question concerning the identification of the theme of the Triumph of the Church over the Synagogue, it is most unusual to find this scene related to Constantine, Helena, and the True Cross. As early as the Carolingian period the Church and Synagogue were placed in conjunction with the Crucifixion and by the late Romanesque period this was practically invariable. Only through the influence of such men as the Abbot Suger in the mid-twelfth century was a new use made of these personifications.¹⁰ So far as has been ascertained the Church and the Synagogue were never used in connection with the True Cross, nor were the figures of Constantine and St. Helena ever clearly used in connection with the Church and Synagogue. The significance of the juxtaposition of these two scenes cannot be found in any iconographic tradition for it represents a new relationship between accepted conventional types. The personifications are here connected to the emperor through whom Christianity triumphed over the pagans, his mother who retrieved the Cross and discomfited the Jews, and the Cross itself, symbol of the struggle against the infidel Moslems.

The four other figures on this capital are very difficult to interpret satisfactorily. Paul Weber identified them as three prophets and the Synagogue. He was endeavoring to fit the reliefs into his theory concerning the influence of mystery plays on church iconography.¹¹ He explained the quadrilobed capital as follows: "Another combination is represented on capitals of the cloister of the cathedral of Monreale. On the southeast corner of a capital can be seen the Church and Synagogue

6. L. Biagi, "Nel chiostro di Monreale," *L'Arte*, n.s., II, 1931, pp. 465-485, fig. 8.

7. F. E. J. Hyslop, "A Byzantine Reliquary of the True Cross in the Sancta Sanctorum," *ART BULLETIN*, XVI, 1934, pp. 333-340.

8. A. Salinas, "Monumenti inediti di Lentini e di Noto," *L'Arte*, VI, 1903, p. 159.

9. Del Giudice, *Descrizione del real tempio e monasterio di Sta. Maria Nuova di Morreale*, Palermo, 1702. In the catalogue of relics (part I, p. 40) mention is made of "wood of the True Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," which was kept with a thorn from the crown of Christ and other relics. It is stated (part II, p. 43) that the thorn was presented with "other valu-

able relics" by Philip the Bold, of France (d. 1285). The piece of the True Cross may have been given to the cathedral at this time or may have been acquired at an earlier date. I am indebted to Professor Erwin Panofsky for helping me with this reference.

10. For this question of iconography see: L. Bréhier, *L'Art chrétien*, Paris, 1928, pp. 241ff. and Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1928, p. 166.

11. Paul Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis erläutert an einer Ikonographie der Kirche und Synagoge*, Stuttgart, 1894. Weber's thesis is neatly disproved by Karl Künstle, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, Friburg im Breisgau, 1939, I, pp. 72-82.



FIG. 1. Monreale, Cloister: capitals
71, east side. *Mithras Sacrificing
His Bull*

FIG. 2. Monreale, Cloister: capitals
82, south side. *William II Presenting
the Cathedral of Monreale to the
King of Kings*



FIG. 3. Monreale, Cloister: southeast
quadrilobed capital, north side. *The
True Cross Flanked by Emperor
Constantine and St. Helena*



FIG. 4. Monreale, Cloister: southeast quadrilobed capital, west side. Identification uncertain

FIG. 5. Monreale, Cloister: southeast quadrilobed capital, south side. Identification uncertain

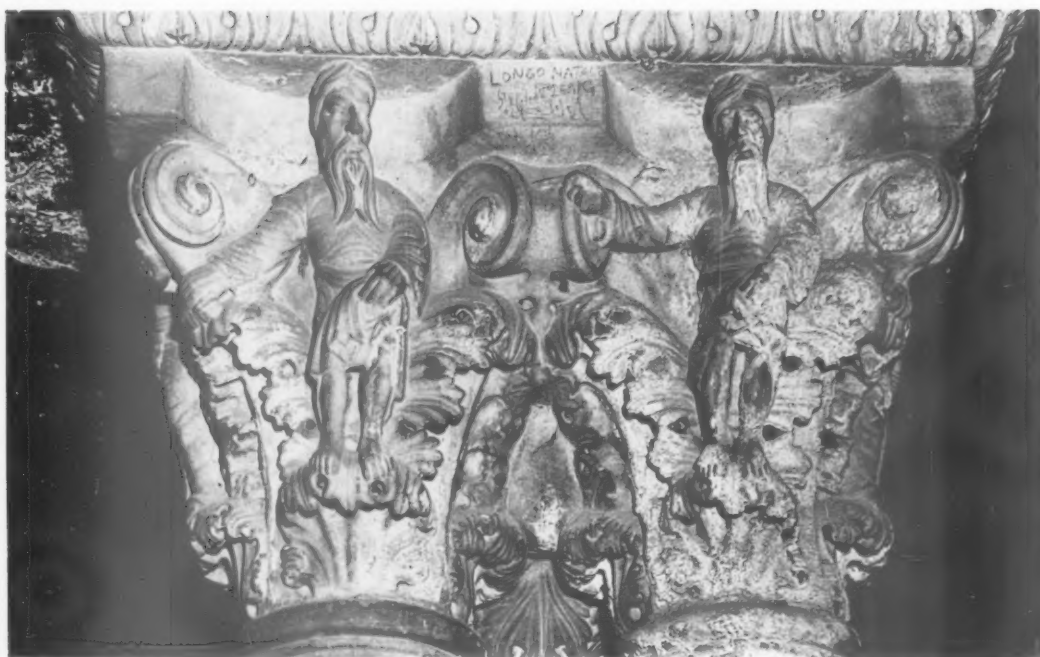


FIG. 6. Monreale, Cloister: capitals 44, north side. *The Death of Cain* and *The Death of Abel*

FIG. 7. Monreale, Cloister: capitals
94, north side. *Construction of the
Tower of Babel and Blaspheming
of Ham*



FIG. 8. Monreale, Cloister: northeast
quadrilobed capital, north side. *Nativity
and Annunciation to the Shepherds*

FIG. 9. Monreale, Cloister: capitals
7, east side. *Lazarus Repulsed by the
Servant and The Death of Dives*





FIG. 10. Monreale, Cloister: capitals
7, west side. *Dives in Hell* and *Lazarus'*
Soul in Abraham's Bosom

FIG. 11. Monreale, Cloister: capitals
21, west side. *Samson's Riddle* and
The Rout of the Philistines



FIG. 12. Monreale, Cloister: capitals
82, north side. *Virtues*

in a usual scheme. On the southwest corner the church gives a 'Pedum rectum' to a bearded king; next to this scene, the Synagogue is fettered at the wrists. A long bearded prophet raises his hands bewailing. Further on, two bearded, turbaned prophets are engaged in conversation."¹² A glance at photographs of these scenes will show that Weber's identifications are inaccurate. The women of the north and west sides certainly do not represent the Church and the Synagogue for one of them is undoubtedly St. Helena. Nor does the explanation of the male figures as prophets satisfactorily fit their actions.

These figures should bear a significant relation to the True Cross and to the Triumph of the Church. If the legend of the True Cross were used, a more satisfactory but still incomplete explanation could be made. The figure holding a cup in his hands might be Adam's son, Seth, as described by Jacopus de Voragine following the Gospel of Nicodemus. "Seth went to the Gate of the Garden of Paradise and asked for a few drops of the oil from the tree of mercy, that he might anoint his father's body and thus repair his health. But the Archangel Michael appeared to him and said: 'Nor by thy tears nor by thy prayers mayest thou obtain the oil of the tree of mercy, for man cannot obtain this oil until five thousand five hundred years.'"¹³ The anguished face of the man with the cup might well be intended to show Seth's reaction to his failure. The crowned figure next to him is almost identical to St. Helena on the north side. It might indeed be she but there is no reason for her to appear a second time. Following the Legend of the True Cross, it would be more appropriate to recognize this queen as Sheba who refused to walk upon the True Cross when she visited Solomon.

On the south side, one of the men might be identified as Judas, who revealed the hiding-place of the True Cross, adopted Christianity and changed his name to Cyriacus. He later became the second bishop of Jerusalem and a saint. The hill upon which the monastery of Monreale stands was called St. Cyriacus. This coincidence serves to strengthen the case for the identification. The second figure might be Nacarius, the first bishop of Jerusalem. These explanations, however, do not account for the peculiar gestures of the bearded and turbaned men, lifting their garments above their thighs, and carrying no symbols of a position in church hierarchy. The actions might be intended to show that the two men were infidels, the "circumcized," either Jew or Arab, enemies of the Church and the Crusade. Turbans appear in contemporary art to distinguish Mohammedans, as shown in the illustration to the sixth section of Pietro d'Eboli's poem, *Carmen de rebus Siculae*, depicting the Chancellery of Tancred.¹⁴ There are three groups distinguished by the words *Notarii Greci, Not Saraceni, Not Latini*. The Arabs wear turbans on their heads.

Whatever may be the final, satisfactory explanation of the scenes of this quadrilobed capital, it is entirely appropriate to find the True Cross and the Triumph of the Church honored in the cloister at Monreale, since the royal house which founded the monastery had wrested the realm from the Arabs and was currently engaged in the Third Crusade.

The cloister capitals and the mosaics of the cathedral, both projects of William II, are roughly contemporaneous and it is only natural that several of the sculptures are closely related iconographically to scenes decorating the walls of the church. There is never, however, a complete correspondence between an entire series of scenes in the two monuments. Although several episodes may be identical in each series, the cloister usually includes a scene not represented in the cathedral. Such a scene is occasionally found at the Cappella Palatina. Each of these monuments, the cloister sculptures and the two mosaic cycles, has certain episodes which do not appear in the other two. The

12. Paul Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 112. To make this explanation, Weber was dependent on a poor reproduction published by A. Springer, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst in Palermo*, Bonn, 1869, p. 195.

13. Translated by G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, *The Golden*

Legend, New York, 1941, I, pp. 269ff.

14. Pietro d'Eboli, "Carmen de Rebus Siculae," ed. E. Rota, *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, new ed., xxxi, Città di Castello, 1904, pl. 7.

many instances where correspondence does occur are sufficient, however, to suggest a much larger set of illustrations from which each may have been drawn.

There are four pairs of capitals in the cloister which show this correspondence. The six scenes of capitals 44 begin with the Fall of Man. Adam stands on one side of the Tree of Paradise, while the serpent hands the apple to Eve. The Expulsion shows Adam being urged onward by the Archangel Gabriel as Eve opens the Gate of Paradise, which is a paneled door with a huge metal knocker. Both Adam and Eve are dressed in very unbecoming, rather baggy, knee-length sheepskins, held in at the waist by thin belts. The Labors follow, with Adam plowing and turning his head to his wife, who sits listlessly on a pile of rock holding her chin in her hand. The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, the Death of Abel, and the Death of Cain from an arrow shot by the blind, unwitting Lamech complete the series (Fig. 6). All these episodes occur in the mosaic cycles. The Labors of Adam and Eve are identical in the cloister and in the cathedral and chapel. The peculiar hair shirts are the same in each of the three sequences as are the actions of Eve and Adam. In the other scenes there are slight variations such as the substitution of a club in the cathedral mosaic for the axe of the sculptures.

The same close correspondence holds in the cases of the Noah and Jacob series. On the west side of capitals 94 is a composite scene of two events after the flood, the Offering of Noah and the Compact between God and Man. On the lower right, Noah, haloed, kneels to feed the fire in the altar upon which he has placed a lamb. Behind the altar is another figure holding up his hands covered by his mantle. On the left, Noah, haloed, appears again in prayer. The hand of God blesses him from an opening in the firmament and the rainbow of God's covenant completes the scene. The story continues on the south side, where Shem, Ham, and Japheth, Noah's sons, appear walking toward a vivid interpretation of the Planting of the Vineyard. On the east side is the Drunkenness of Noah, followed on the north side by the Blaspheming of Ham and the Construction of the Tower of Babel (Fig. 7). The mosaics of the cathedral have all these scenes except the Blaspheming of Ham. It also has the largest series, consisting of eight scenes beginning with the Construction of the Ark. The Cappella Palatina has only four: Building the Ark, Planting the Vineyard, the Drunkenness of Noah, and the Building of the Tower of Babel.

Capitals 100 carry seven episodes of the story of Jacob. All are repeated in the set of the same theme at the cathedral while the Palatine Chapel has a much more abbreviated series. On the south side of the capitals appear the following two representations: to the left, Isaac blesses Jacob with Rebecca in the background bringing the savoury meat she had prepared for the occasion. While Jacob steals his brother's birthright, Esau is shown out hunting as he is about to let fly an arrow into a tree full of birds. This second scene is clearly labeled "Esau" at the Cappella Palatina. The mosaics there as well as at the cathedral are almost identical with the two scenes in the cloister. On the east side of the capitals, Isaac receives game from Esau, a scene which does not occur in the mosaics. On the north side of these capitals are three further events of Jacob's life. First is his journey to Padanaram, which is practically identical to the same scene in the cathedral. This is followed by Jacob's dream which is repeated in the Cappella Palatina and the cathedral but interpreted in widely varying ways. The next episode is again almost identical in the cloister and the cathedral. It represents the erection of the altar at Bethel. The last scene, on the west side, shows Jacob wrestling with the angel. In the cloister, the angel is on the left. He draws back from Jacob, who presses spiritedly forward. In the two mosaic cycles these figures are shown embracing and not in actual combat as in the sculpture.

The close connection of the cloister and the cathedral is underscored by the appearance in each of a most unusual combination of western and eastern iconography for the scene of the Holy

Women at the Sepulchre.¹⁵ The west followed the account in the Gospel of St. Mark and showed three women approaching a sarcophagus, upon which an angel is sitting. The east accepted the account recorded in the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which only two women are represented in the presence of a seated angel, who points to a sepulchre in the form of a cave. At Monreale the iconography is a mixture. Three women, each haloed, approach from the left, bearing perfume bottles. They face an angel seated upon a sarcophagus, holding a lily staff and pointing across his body toward a cave in which is seen an empty shroud.¹⁶ The only difference between the sculptured and the mosaic scenes is that one shows two soldiers asleep before the sarcophagus while the other has three.

The south side of capitals 48 presents the Harrowing of Hell in a rather conservative fashion, a treatment quite different from that of the cathedral and the Palatine Chapel. In the sculpture, Christ strides over the prone body of Satan and goes forward to Adam and Eve. The mosaic cycles have this episode in the more usual twelfth century manner with Christ stepping over the crossed gates of Hell, pulling Adam and Eve after Him.¹⁷

The last episode on these capitals is identified as that of "Quo Vadis" by Biagi.¹⁸ Two men turn away from each other as if on the point of parting. The figure on the left is haloed, carries a staff, and has a pouch hanging from his belt. The other man, also haloed, points across his body to a domed building in the background. If Biagi is correct, the scene refers to a passage from the apocryphal acts of SS. Peter and Paul. After having been imprisoned in the Mamertine prison by Nero, the two Apostles convert their jailors and gain their freedom. Peter flees from Rome. Suddenly Christ appears to him on the road and Peter asks him, "Lord, whither goest thou?" and is answered, "I go to Rome to be crucified again."

In addition to the scene of the Harrowing of Hell there are others which occur in both cloister and cathedral which differ radically in terms of iconography. An example is the Nativity carved on the north side of the capitals forming the quadrilobed group at the northeast corner of the cloister (Fig. 8). Certain sculptural masses on the upper edges of the scene suggest a cave or grotto for the locale of the event. Joseph is seated on the lower right with his head in his hand. The Virgin, a blanket covering her to her waist, reclines on a couch. She takes something from a bowl proffered her by a woman. A second female figure supports her from behind as she makes the effort to reach forward. The Christ Child, tightly bound in swaddling clothes, lies in a crib near his mother. Two angels place their hands protectingly over the crib, while the ox and ass peer at the child. In the cathedral, the mosaic of the Nativity is of a more normal Byzantine type and shows the Virgin lying before a grotto caring for the Christ Child in his crib while two midwives are busy preparing water to wash him. The activities of the midwives, or serving women, in the sculptured relief of the cloister make the scene very unusual if not unique.

Some of the details of the cloister Nativity, however, are found in a series of German ivories of the tenth and eleventh centuries. An ivory from the collection of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum shows a woman adjusting a blanket over the Virgin.¹⁹ The same scene is repeated in an ivory belonging to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Brussels,²⁰ and on the cover of the evangelary of the Abbess Theophano from the Stiftskirche at Essen.²¹ An ivory casket of the Landesmuseum, Brunswick,²² shows the Nativity with a woman behind the Virgin arranging her pillow. English ivories of the same period occasionally show the Virgin with an attendant.²³ These examples, however, never have more than one woman assisting the Virgin. None of them has a woman offering sus-

15. Albert Roe, "A Steatite Plaque in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Museum," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIII, 1941, pp. 216-218.

16. L. Biagi, *op.cit.*, fig. 5.

17. Albert Roe, *op.cit.*, pp. 218-219.

18. L. Biagi, *op.cit.*, p. 472 and fig. 6.

19. Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin,

1918, II, pl. XVII, and p. 28 n. 52.

20. *Idem*, pl. XVII, p. 29 n. 55.

21. *Idem*, pl. XXIII, p. 29 n. 58, and fig. 20.

22. *Idem*, pl. XIII, and figs. 4 and 5.

23. M. H. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, London (1926), p. 13.

tenance to the reclining mother. This unusual figure is not to be confused with the midwife who holds her withered hand in supplication to the Virgin, as seen in the panel decorating the chair of Maximian in the archbishop's palace at Ravenna. The Monreale Nativity is the only one to show the Virgin with two attendants assisting her.

Capitals 23 are also decorated with an iconographic theme which appears in the cathedral, the Massacre of the Innocents, but there is no significant connection between the two versions. The mosaics have only a single composite scene whereas the sculpture shows three: Herod ordering the massacre; the massacre itself, in which the soldiers slay the children with drawn swords; and women mourning beside the slaughtered infants. Certain elements, such as the use of a column in the mourning scene and the grouping of the three soldiers about to carry out the king's orders suggest that these scenes relate to a very old formulation of the episodes. Occasionally in the cloister, as in this instance, the iconography of certain scenes appears to be from a pre-Byzantine period.

The southwest quadrilobed capital contains an unusual sequence of subjects which depart radically from the iconography of the cathedral: the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple; the Flight into Egypt; and Pentecost. Neither are the scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, on capitals 13, more closely related to the mosaics. The sculptured episodes are: the Preaching, Baptising, Appearance before Herod, Salome's Dance, and the Beheading.

The parable of Dives and Lazarus on capitals 7 is a fairly unusual theme in Sicily and southern Italy. It occurs in the frescoes of Sant' Angelo in Formis but this is the only example in the region prior to the representation at Monreale. The parable, however, is not rare in Byzantine monuments as its inclusion in the painters' guide from Mt. Athos proves.²⁴ But the version at the Monreale cloister is quite different from the serious, rather harsh interpretation common to the eastern type. At Sant' Angelo in Formis there are only two scenes showing the banquet and dismissal of Lazarus, and the combination of Dives in Hell, Lazarus in Abraham's bosom.

The lighter mood of the Monreale scenes is immediately set by the poem engraved on the four sides of the impost block of the capitals:

NON MUL TOTEMPORE VIVES
FAC BENE DUM VI
VIS POST MORTEM VIVERE SIVES
O DIVES DIVES

The story begins on the north side with Dives and his wife at table, sheltered by a baldachino. Meanwhile, Lazarus is repulsed by a servant as two dogs lick at the wounds on his legs (Fig. 9). Next, Dives is on his deathbed. His wife leans forward in sorrow, her hair loose and streaming down her back. A bishop, several women and an acolyte stand around the room and a priest holds a book over the bed inscribed:

ORE GE
MUS NE
DE ATE
QUI (?)

Then, as the rich man dies, the poor man's body is given a common burial. His soul, as a small child, is borne to heaven by a beautiful angel with outspread wings. The end of the story is placed on the west side and shows Lazarus' soul in Abraham's bosom and Dives' mature body tortured in hell by a little devil wielding a fork (Fig. 10).

On the extreme left of this scene, in hell's fire, kneels a young female figure holding up a covered dish. She belongs to the banquet scene around the corner. Emile Mâle, in discussing the Dives

24. M. Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, Paris, 1945, p. 221.

and Lazarus parable at S. Pierre, Moissac, points out that the presence of a servitor with a cup at the banquet probably signifies a traditional subject and cites several examples in Austrian manuscripts of the twelfth century.²⁵ The Monreale example reinforces his opinion but adds no information as to the origin of the peculiarity. What is unusual at Monreale is the realism of detail and setting and the substitution of gentle, almost humorous admonition for the violence of Moissac or the severity of Sant' Angelo in Formis.

Twelfth century representations of the stories of Sampson and of Joseph do not appear in Sicily outside the cloister at Monreale. Capitals 21 and 42, respectively, have episodes from these sequences. The same subjects are used for two reliefs in the chapel of Sta. Restituta, adjoining the cathedral of Naples.²⁶ These plaques were evidently part of a chancel screen and are decorated with fifteen scenes from the life of Joseph and five from that of Sampson, combined with single panels of St. Januarius, St. George, St. Eustace, and others. At Monreale the following episodes from the Sampson story are shown: Sampson's riddle for his wedding guests, the Rout of the Philistines at Lehi (Fig. 11), Sampson with the Harlot at Gaza, the Carrying Away of the Gates of Gaza, the Blinding of Sampson, and the Destruction of the Temple of Dagon. Two of the five scenes of the Sta. Restituta reliefs are similar to those of capitals 21 and show the Blinding of Sampson and the Slaying of the Philistines with the jaw-bone of the ass at Lehi.

The Joseph series at Monreale contains the Dreams of Joseph in His Father's House, Joseph Rebuked for His Dreams, Joseph Directed to His Brothers at Dothan, Joseph Put in the Well, Joseph and the Midianites, and Jacob with the Coat of Many Colors. All these episodes illustrate but one book of Genesis, the thirty-seventh. The series in Sta. Restituta is more extensive but less exhaustive than the one at Monreale. The scenes which appear in both are not identical, although some details may be the same in each version. The iconography of the Monreale sequences is clearly linked, however, to those of the Sta. Restituta plaques. Their relationship suggests that both monuments used a similar, if not identical, prototype which was profusely illustrated.

The dependence of several capitals in the cloister upon Lombardy for the iconography of their subjects is rather unexpected because of the lack of a close historical connection between the two regions in the late twelfth century. The Labors of the Months on the quadrilobed capital of the fountain pavilion at Monreale show, however, a very definite dependence on the Lombard treatment of the same subject.

The Labors of the Months at Monreale are quite different from those found elsewhere in Sicily and southern Italy, e.g. Lentini, Sessa Aurunca, and Benevento. On the other hand, they are closely related to the set of the Labors at San Zeno, Verona.²⁷ D. M. Robb has found that the Labors of the Months are marked by distinct scenes in Italy. He says there are "... two themes that are characteristically Italian: March is represented as blowing horns and August nailing-up a barrel. So far as is known the presence of either or both of these scenes is a definite symptom of Italian origin."²⁸ While these two Labors appear frequently in Lombardy, Monreale is the only place they occur in Sicily and southern Italy. Indeed, these two representations might be considered as typical of Lombardy alone rather than of all Italy. Since the Lombard examples are earlier in date than the series at Monreale, there is no doubt that the cloister is dependent upon that region for this iconography.

Starting at the west side of the fountain capital, the month of September is represented by a half-nude youth stamping grapes in a wooden barrel; he holds a full basket on his shoulder. October shows a youth striding along sowing seeds. November has a young man shaking acorns out

25. Emile Mâle, *op.cit.*, pp. 141-148.

26. Adolf Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, Milan, 1904, III, p. 629.

27. C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months*, Princeton, 1938,

p. 149 and pl. 34.

28. D. M. Robb, "Niccolò: a North Italian Sculptor of the Twelfth Century," *ART BULLETIN*, XII, 1930, p. 410.

of a tree for a swine. For December, the young man slaughters the swine. An old bearded man represents January as he sits in an armchair, ostensibly warming himself before an invisible fire. February shows a youth grasping a slender tree trunk with a flat tub beside him. Unfortunately, his right arm is broken off so that one is not sure whether he is gathering wood or pruning the tree. For March there is a wild-haired figure blowing two horns at the same time. April is represented by a young man walking along holding a flowered staff. May shows a young man standing beside a grazing horse. June has a young man holding up the skirt of his tunic to make a pouch which he has filled with small fruitlike objects.²⁹ At his feet is a full basket. July, still the young man, bends down to grasp a sheaf of wheat and swings a sickle in his right hand. August has almost finished a wine cask and is hammering the last stay.

The San Zeno labors are exactly the same except for the following instances: the rider representing the month of May at San Zeno is mounted; at Monreale he stands beside his steed. April at San Zeno is a maiden; at Monreale a youth. October at Monreale is shown sowing. This labor is omitted at San Zeno and is replaced by the cutting of wood, which represents December.

The close iconographic connection between the cloister of Monreale and monuments at Verona can be further illustrated by capitals 82. The scene on the south side of these capitals, William II in the guise of a Magus presenting his church to the Christ Child, has already been discussed. One of the reasons for the adaptation of the Adoration of the Magi to this contemporary event can be clarified by the tympanum of the main porch of the cathedral of Verona.³⁰ Here is carved an Adoration of the Magi combined with the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The outer moulding of this tympanum carries the following Latin couplet: HIC DOMINUS MAGNUS. LEO CRISTUS CERNITUR AGNUS. On the lintel below in medallions are busts of the three theological virtues, labeled FI DES, CA [RIT] AS, and s PES. At the peak of the gable above appears, as is usual in Lombardy, the Lamb of God. These elements were reused for capitals 82 in the cloister. The Adoration was put on the south side with the substitution of William II for the three kings. On the north side, the impost block carries the Latin couplet seen at Verona, "Hic Dominus Magnus Leo Christus Cernitur Agnus" (Fig. 12). Beneath are two women separated by a much mutilated Lamb of God. Inscribed on the under side of the impost block are the words: SPES and FIDES. On the east side is another female figure identified as Charity by the Latin legend above her, DEUS CARITAS EST. The fourth side shows a female figure with the legend IUSTITIA DOMINI. It was necessary to elaborate the disposition of the Verona porch by adding the figure of Justice because of the rectangular shape of the capitals. This personification was well chosen to accompany the theological virtues as an allusion to the King of All as well as to the position of the king of Sicily.

The iconography of these capitals is tinged with a subtlety uncommon to southern Italy at this time. Virtues used in connection with personages or scenes to symbolize their character and importance are very unusual in the Norman kingdom. In monuments on the island they never appear. The type of thought expressed through these personifications was not, as yet, current in the southern kingdom. Lombardy was unquestionably the first Italian region where this kind of iconography occurred. Not only virtues, but also prophets, or precursors, from the Old Testament appear in Lombardy during the twelfth century in contexts different from the traditional one. Normally before this time, as at Sant' Angelo in Formis, prophets were used in relation to Christ as evidence of his prefigurations in the Old Testament.³¹

Capitals 80 in the cloister have a representation of the Annunciation to the Virgin. Four prophets appear on the other sides of the capitals, two on the south side, and one each on the east and west. A strict dependence upon a Lombard prototype is difficult to prove in this case. Prophets are found

29. C. Webster, *op.cit.*, p. 144. June has been incorrectly identified as mowing instead of gathering fruit. This identification is based on information gathered by Hans von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig*, Leipzig, 1903.

p. 177.

30. C. Enlart, *L'Art roman en Italie*, Paris, 1924, pl. 77.

31. Karl Künstle, *loc.cit.*

on the portals of such churches as the cathedrals of Modena, Verona, Ferrara, and Cremona. None of these monuments, however, duplicates exactly the four prophets chosen at Monreale to show the concordance of the Old Testament and the Annunciation to the Virgin.

On the east side of capitals 80 stands a prophet identified by the letters YSA IAS engraved on either side of his halo. On his scroll appears: ECCE VIR GO C̄ CIPI ET ET PARIET. On the south side, the two prophets are identified as SGE REMIAS and DA NIEL. St. Jerome carries the words ECCE IN QUID DEUS NO TER; the other inscription is so weathered as to be indecipherable. On the west side appears DAVID REX. His scroll has unfortunately also deteriorated and is illegible.

Emile Mâle, in discussing the influence of the mystery plays on the iconography of the twelfth century,³² dwells at length on the sermon *Contra Judeos, Paganos, et Arianos*, attributed once to St. Augustine. It consists of an argument for the conversion of the Jews by testimony from figures of the Old Testament. Isaiah's inscription at Monreale begins with the same words as his speech in the sermon. St. Jerome's part in the sermon is not particularly apt for an Annunciation scene but the words of Daniel and David are so fitting that it is tempting to reconstruct the whole iconography of the capitals on this source.

It is more probable, nevertheless, that the use of prophets came to Sicily via examples in Lombardy than directly from France. The scope of this investigation does not include the question of whether Lombardy or France first developed such a tradition. Following the close connection of the Labors of the Months and the Presentation of the Church by William II with monuments in Lombardy, it is reasonable to assume that the ideas expressed on capitals 80 also came to the monastery at Monreale from the same region. Capitals 95 have essentially the same subject matter. On the south side the Virgin sits rather rigidly holding the Christ Child. She is accompanied by five elderly, bearded men, undoubtedly prophets.

The dependence of the cloister upon Lombardy for iconography is amply demonstrated by capitals 80, 82, 95, and the fountain quadrilobed capital. The cloister, however, was just as dependent on nearby Sicilian monuments or on sculpture in Campania and objects of the minor arts for iconographic themes. Evidently, no systematic approach to the problem of subject matter was ever worked out by the patrons and sculptors of the cloister capitals. They did not even avoid duplication as in the two Annunciations to the Virgin. The result is an odd, unsynthesized mixture of traditions.

The lack of a consistent program so apparent in the iconography of the cloister is also evident in the stylistic expression of the sculptures.³³ In detail, the capitals betray as many stylistic as iconographic sources. Indeed, style usually follows the same origin as iconography for each pair of capitals. A general stylistic harmony, nevertheless, exists in the cloister because of the dominance of a classicizing point of view. This revival of the antique was as yet hesitant and incomplete, but it endowed the cloister with a feeling of unity and plastic ornamentation. The historiated capitals were reduced to the minor role of illustration rather than being given a prominent didactic part and they blend unobtrusively into the total decorative effect.

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32. Emile Mâle, *op.cit.*, pp. 20ff.

33. An analysis of the styles of the cloister sculptures will be the subject of an article completing the present essay, which the author intends to publish in the near future. A short article

dealing with the stylistic connection of the cloister at Monreale and the west façade of Chartres cathedral will appear shortly in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S *BATTLE OF ANGHIARI*: A GENETIC RECONSTRUCTION*

GÜNTHER NEUFELD

IN THE year 1503 Piero Soderini, the first *gonfaloniere a vita* of Florence, commissioned Leonardo da Vinci to decorate one of the walls of the *Sala del Gran Consiglio* with a monumental fresco. The painting was intended to commemorate the victory of Florentine and Papal troops at the battle of Anghiari in June, 1440—a victory that saved Tuscany from Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, and his mercenaries commanded by Niccolò Piccinino.¹

Leonardo, just after the turn of the century, was at the height of his fame. Six years had passed since the completion of the *Last Supper* in Milan; two had elapsed since his cartoon for the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* had been exhibited publicly, arousing, according to Vasari, the admiration of all Florence. With these works, which revealed a creative power transcending any then known or remembered, Leonardo had for the first time shown what, when he persisted, he could achieve. Now, as though recognizing that power, his native city had offered him the opportunity to paint for the Hall of the Great Council—the seat of the newly constituted and more than ever ambitious republic—a major work of secular nature, surpassing in scope even the *Last Supper*.

The undertaking ended in failure. We need not repeat here the oft-told story of the lengthy preparations, the work done on cartoon and fresco, the technical mishap which befell the latter, and the final abandonment of the project. All that need be mentioned is that both the fresco, which was effaced from the wall of the Council Hall, fifty years after its inception, to make way for Vasari's "Histories," and the cartoon, which apparently had disappeared still earlier, included no more than a single scene—the celebrated Fight for the Standard.² Yet this group, familiar to us through de-

* For his painstaking help in the preparation of the final manuscript I am deeply indebted to Mr. Stephen Somervell.

1. Machiavelli evaluated the victory in the following manner (*Istorie fiorentine*, ed. Plinio Carli, Florence, 1927, II, p. 56): "... fu la vittoria molto più utile per la Toscana, che dannosa per il Duca; perchè, se i Fiorentini perdevono la giornata, la Toscana era sua; e perdendo quello, non perdè altro che le armi e i cavagli del suo esercito." Cf. also I. Masetti-Bencini, "La Battaglia d'Anghiari," *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi*, XVIII, 1907, pp. 106-127.

The fresco by Leonardo da Vinci was not the only decoration projected for the Council Hall. In 1504 Michelangelo was commissioned to paint a companion piece to the *Battle of Anghiari*—"a concorrenza di Leonardo," as Vasari has it (*Vite*, ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 159). It was the kind of competition, between two men of equal stature though of different generations, that the Florentines loved to promote. The subject of Michelangelo's mural was the *Battle of Cascina*. Thus a victory over Pisa would take its place alongside the triumph over Milan and the Visconti. As it turned out, Michelangelo completed only the cartoon for the group of the Bathing Soldiers, so greatly admired at the time; it was early cut into several pieces and soon afterward scattered to the four winds. (The composition of the group survives in the copy at Holkham Hall.)

2. With regard to the cartoon this fact has not yet been realized. That it actually comprised—since it needed to comprise at a given date—only a part of the composition, can be

inferred from the artist's contract of May 1504, with the Signoria: "... (e prefati magnifici Signori deliberarono) che il detto Lionardo da Vinci debba havere interamente finito di dipignere el detto cartone et rechatolo alla sua intera perfectione per infino a tutto el mese di Febbrajo proxime futuro de 1504 [1505]. . . . Et potrebbe essere, che a detto Lionardo venissi bene cominciare a dipignere et colorire nel muro della sala detta, quella parte che lui havessi disegnata et fornita in detto cartone, però sono contenti, quando questo achaggia, e prefati magnifici Signori darli quel salario ciascuno mese che sarà conveniente per fare tale dipintura et quello di che dallora saranno d'accordo con detto Lionardo. Et così spendendo detto Lionardo tempo in dipignere insul muro detto, sono contenti detti magnifici Signori prorogarli et allungharli el tempo soprascripto, fra il quale detto Leonardo si obbligha a fornire il cartone in quel modo et infine a quel termine che allora saranno d'accordo detti magnifici Signori et detto Lionardo . . ." (Luca Beltrami, *Documenti e memorie riguardanti la vita e le opere di Leonardo da Vinci*, Milan, 1919, pp. 87-88).

The wording could not be more explicit. Payment to Leonardo was made conditional upon his having, within the stated period, either completed the whole cartoon or else begun to transfer to the wall the portion of it already drawn. He chose the second alternative and started work on the painting. Now it was difficult enough, throughout his life, to induce Leonardo to fulfill his contractual obligations; certainly, he never did more than his contract required him to do.

When, after May 30, 1506, Leonardo departed from

scriptions and through numerous copies,³ was but one of several groups which Leonardo had projected, a fragment of a much larger whole; it was, in the words of Pier Soderini, merely "un piccolo principio a una opera grande."⁴

What, then, was Leonardo's plan for the entire composition? It is the aim of the following pages to find the answer to this question.

The first step toward a reconstruction of Leonardo's plan for the *Battle* was the recognition by Jean Paul Richter that a black chalk study at Windsor Castle, the so-called Cavalcade (Fig. 5), represented a part of the larger conception.⁵ This group of horsemen, moving away from the sharply drawn vertical line at the right and advancing toward the left, was clearly designed as the right-hand portion of the battle composition.⁶

Another of the component parts was added by Miss Anny E. Popp.⁷ On a drawing by Leonardo in the Venice Academy an arched bridge is sketched near the Fight for the Standard (Fig. 4). On the basis of this drawing and earlier renderings of the battle Miss Popp identified the Bridge as the link connecting the Fight for the Standard with the Cavalcade.⁸ The tiny figure of a horseman in the background to the left of the study at Windsor Castle is shown speeding toward the bridge, which, in the Venice Academy sketch, appears in the background to the right. Thus a sequence of three scenes was obtained, comprising the group of the Fight for the Standard and the episodes to the right of it.

This reconstruction of the *Battle*, however satisfactory, left one gap still to be filled. The sweeping movement from right to left that begins in the Cavalcade and carries through and beyond the Fight for the Standard, demands a balancing counter-movement. With the group of the four horsemen, open as it is on the left, the composition cannot end: lacking resistance and a goal, it would run into a void and, as it were, remain suspended; the strongest accent would be placed on the extreme left of the composition, and that is a solution which, at the beginning of the High Renaissance, was unthinkable in both form and content.

Thus far only one concrete suggestion concerning the missing parts has been advanced. Sir Ken-

Florence to take service for three months under the governor of Milan, he left the group of the Fight for the Standard unfinished on the wall of the *Sala*, never to work on it again.

3. The earliest copy of the group is the sketch in silverpoint by Raphael, in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 8). The commonly accepted belief that Raphael's model was the cartoon has been shown to be erroneous (Marie Herzfeld, "Leonardo da Vinci und sein Reiterkampf," *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, VII, 1938, p. 56). Raphael's drawing follows a version that preceded the cartoon.

4. Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti*, Florence, 1839-40, II, pp. 87-88. Despite this unequivocal statement on the part of Soderini, who was in a position to know, a certain school of thought maintains that the *Battle of Anghiari* was nothing more than the Fight for the Standard (e.g. Karl Friedrich Suter, *Das Rätsel von Leonardos Schlachtenbild*, Strasbourg, 1937, *passim*; Ludwig H. Heydenreich, *Leonardo*, Berlin, n.d., pp. 73-75). The present paper will, it is hoped, dispose of this untenable thesis.

5. *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1883, I, p. 337.

The authenticity of this drawing has been questioned several times, but without justification. It is true that another hand, probably while the sheet was still in the workshop of Leonardo, went over most of the fading contours in order to prevent the study, which had been drawn with soft black chalk, from being effaced altogether. Yet the parts that remained unretouched, such as the horse in the left foreground seen obliquely from behind, and the tiny horse in the left background, reveal the

hand of Leonardo.

For the horse in the right foreground there is a separate study at Windsor, on a page containing sketches for the kneeling Leda (12337^r).

Raphael copied the horse in the center (the one with the gaily waving tail) on the same sheet as the Fight for the Standard (Fig. 8).

It is interesting to find this drastically foreshortened horse in an almost identical form, but without any tail, among some sketches which Leonardo had made twenty years before (reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1932, II, p. 99).

6. As is made clear by the recently published second edition of his book, Richter himself mistakenly held that the Cavalcade was meant to appear in the background of the *Battle*. (*Literary Works*, 2nd ed., London, 1939, I, p. 376.) H. de Geymüller, in a review of the first edition ("Les Derniers travaux sur Léonard de Vinci," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXIV, 1886, p. 160), judged more correctly: "Un dessin de Windsor représentant un front de cavalerie d'une allure superbe qui s'avance au combat, bannières déployées, formait sans doute l'extrémité droite du carton."

7. *Leonardo da Vinci: Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1928, p. 48.

8. The actual battle was fought near the road leading from Borgo San Sepolcro to the Castle of Anghiari, and largely revolved around the possession of a stone bridge over the Tiber, the *Ponte della Giustizia*. The eventual capture of this bridge by the allies forced Piccinino to fall back upon Borgo San Sepolcro.

neth Clark proposed that a rapid pen and ink sketch of a fight on horseback, by Michelangelo, might represent the left-hand section.⁹

It has lately been remarked: "As long as we have no accurate evidence, either pictorial or literary, as to the missing parts, no scientific reconstruction of the whole of Leonardo's conception will ever be possible."¹⁰ It is true, no external evidence, such as a copy or a description of the left-hand section, is known, nor is any likely to come to light now. But internal evidence exists and has been available for some time. Four drawings, one in the British Museum and three in the Venice Academy (Figs. 1-4), contain all the evidence we need to supply the missing parts. It is necessary only to consider these drawings in a way which, for want of a better term, may be called conceptual, i.e. not as static objects but as reflections of states of becoming—as records of transitory phases in a spiritual process. The sketches preserved at Venice and London are among the supreme examples of Leonardo's draughtsmanship,¹¹ but they are also documents which allow us to witness the gradual unfolding of an extensive and complex design. For once it is possible to observe a consistent imagination at work. In comparing the several stages through which Leonardo's concepts passed we shall not, therefore, confine ourselves to pointing out the differences between one version and the next, but shall be concerned with the reasoning that prompted these changes from stage to stage. A coherent pattern will then emerge. "One does not really get to know works of nature and of art once they are completed; to understand them to some extent, one must catch them while they are growing."¹²

I. THE FIGHT FOR THE STANDARD

Qu'y a-t-il de plus admirable que le passage de l'arbitraire au nécessaire qui est l'acte souverain de l'artiste?—Valéry

The first stage of Leonardo's work on the *Battle of Anghiari* is represented by the sheet in the British Museum (Fig. 1). Here, following a distinct rhythm in their distribution over the page, some rapid yet carefully drawn sketches of separate motifs are set down, depicting various actions of horsemen—of riders attacking, fleeing, and falling. These drawings, of an unparalleled intensity in their expression of movement, reflect the spontaneity with which Leonardo recorded ideas as soon as his imagination had taken hold of a new subject. Of the four sketches only two are relevant to our present purpose: the scene in the upper right-hand corner and the galloping rider beneath, each sketch forming the starting point for a series of further studies. The figure at the lower right evolved into the Fight for the Standard, while the episode above it was developed into its counterpart.

The two motifs sketched on the left—the horseman storming ahead with couched lance, and the tumbling animal whose rider strives to keep his balance by crouching low with one arm flung upward—these studies, contrasting a forward motion at the very greatest speed with one abruptly brought to a halt, did not find a place in the final design of the *Battle of Anghiari*.¹³

9. London, British Museum (Kenneth Clark, *A Catalogue of the Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, Cambridge, 1935, p. 29 [no. 12339], p. 30 [no. 12340]).

10. Maria Lessing, "Leonardo da Vinci's Pazzia Bestialissima," *Burlington Magazine*, LXIV, 1934, p. 225.

The two scholars who have most recently written on the *Battle of Anghiari*, share this feeling of pessimism. Suter (*op.cit.*, p. 2) goes so far as to say: "Unbewusst hegte man den überheblichen Glauben, man könne—mit Hilfe von bald diesen, bald jenen Zeichnungen—Leonardos schöpferische Tat im Geiste rekonstruieren. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass jeder Versuch dieser Art misslingen musste." Miss Herzfeld (*op.cit.*, p. 55) regards any attempt to reconstruct the plan for the whole as "ein kühnes und kindliches Unterfangen; denn rechnerisch kann man ein Kunstwerk analysieren, doch dem Schaffensakt selbst kommt keine Wissenschaft nahe." To be sure; but criticism, wherever the material permits, is able to retrace the stages through which the creative process passed,

or (to use a Jamesian phrase) "to remount the stream of composition."

Heinrich Bodmer, "Leonardos zeichnerische Vorarbeiten zur Anghiarischlacht," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, III, 1932, pp. 463-491, is of little value. Maria Lessing, *Die Anghiari-Schlacht des Leonardo da Vinci, Vorschläge zur Rekonstruktion*, doctoral dissertation, Bonn, 1935, reaches the same conclusions as Popp, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

11. Quickly set down in the heat of invention and afterwards as quickly corrected, these minute sketches of battling horsemen are, in places, not easily deciphered. But, though the figures are often tiny, they are never "irresponsible" (Clark, *Catalogue*, p. xliii). The small scale, presumably, was chosen as an aid to rapid notation.

12. "Natur- und Kunstwerke lernt man nicht kennen wenn sie fertig sind; man muss sie im Entstehen aufhaschen, um sie einigermaßen zu begreifen." Goethe in a letter to Zelter, August 4, 1803.

13. Only later, it seems, did Leonardo once more call these

The horseman fleeing toward the left in the lower right-hand corner clutches to his side a standard with a broken shaft. In the sketch that follows, this motif was incorporated into a group by having the standard-bearer appear in the very situation which, in the artist's imagination, preceded his successful flight (Fig. 3). Leonardo, always inclined to develop a motif that he had once formulated by extending it into the past or the future,¹⁴ arrived at the initial conception of the Fight for the Standard by working back from the incident shown in the London sheet—retracing it, as it were, in time—and conceiving a scene which explained and justified the horseman's flight and the break in the shaft. At some point in the creative process he came to think of the event which he had first jotted down as an effect and then applied his inventive imagination to a reconstruction of the cause—an illuminating instance of what Leonardo called "posmaginare," the imagining of things that were past.¹⁵

In the resultant crescent-shaped group (Fig. 3) the standard-bearer can be seen in the foreground to the left, bent low over the neck of his horse, holding the shaft out rigidly behind him.¹⁶ (The banner hanging from the pole is not easily detected; it extends in short horizontal waves in front of the rider in the center and must not be confused with the trefoil-like, ornamental form farther to the right.)¹⁷ Just behind the standard-bearer and partly concealed by him—indeed less clearly visible than his horse—a second rider gallops past, holding a fluttering standard before him. Farther back, on a rearing horse in the center of the group, a third horseman raises his weapon. These three are speeding toward the left as though drawing a three-horse chariot. In the foreground is a fallen horse, whose rider, owing to the corrections which the sketch has undergone, cannot now be distinguished with certainty; it would appear that Leonardo represented him first in the saddle and then lying on the ground. At some distance to the right a fifth horseman follows in pursuit.¹⁸ He alone maintains the assault on the standard. With a powerful thrust he charges; his lance strikes the tip of the flag-staff, hitting it at an obtuse angle which makes it seem as though the two poles—the lance and the shaft of the standard—were merging.¹⁹ (In this well-aimed, vigorous lance-thrust of a pursuing enemy horseman Leonardo found the explanation, or reason, for the break in the shaft.) Between the figures flanking the group, the assailant on the right and the defender on the left, a concrete and tangible link is established which both defines and bridges the distance, and assists the eye in scanning the scene.

In a fraction of a second the shaft of the standard, it seems, must snap under the impact of the lance-thrust. Since, however, one assailant has already been overthrown and the one who remains is too far away to be able to seize the flag, the standard-bearer will succeed in fleeing with the broken shaft. This subsequent moment is recorded in the sketch from which Leonardo started. He considered the action he had drawn first (namely, the standard-bearer's flight) as a sequel and then dis-

two sketches to mind. On a sheet at Christ Church, Oxford, is a little battle scene, which has been included, mistakenly, among the preparatory drawings (reproduced in Sidney Colvin, *Drawings of the Old Masters in the University Galleries and in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*, 1907, I, pl. 14B). This study of a horse and rider who, while sprawling on the ground, are attacked by an opponent approaching at high speed with couched lance, is, I believe, but a free combination of the two motifs on the left of the British Museum sheet, not used in the battle composition.

14. The creative principle underlying this procedure will be discussed more fully elsewhere. Leonardo applied it in the *Last Supper*, the *Leda*, the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, as well as in certain minor works.

15. *Dell' anatomia fogli B*, 2^v: "La idea, over imaginativa, è e timone e briglia de' sensi, in però che la cosa immaginata move il senso.—Premaginare è lo imaginare le cose che saranno. Posmaginare è imaginare le cose passate."

16. The group fills the upper part of a page, in the lower half of which appear studies of footsoldiers in action. Without knowledge of the context one would perhaps be inclined to think of these studies as suggesting the movements of some sport or dance rather than of battle.

17. What Leonardo meant by this form, it is impossible to say. It may be a billowing cloak or scarf; or it may not be representational, but a somewhat fanciful indication of the space into which the cloth of the standard was to be fitted in the next version.

18. A detailed study of his horse is on a sheet at Windsor (12326^v).

19. When Suter claims that the two horsemen at the extreme right and left are trying to wrest from each other a standard with a very long shaft (*Rätsel*, p. 42), he misunderstands the scene (as, by the way, do all the authors who have analyzed the drawing). A battle standard having a pole equal in length to three or four horses is virtually impossible.

covered its premise, which took shape as the present group. The attack on the standard is doomed to failure, as it will not have resulted in the capture of the flag, but only in damage to its pole.

In this violent movement toward the left there is but one retarding gesture: the raised arm of the central horseman. With lowered head, and wielding a weapon that may be a battle axe or a mace, he turns in the saddle, aiming a blow, across the barrier formed by the shafts, at the man lying on the ground, whom his horse has already passed. His powerfully sweeping gesture dominates the composition. Two forces, as will be seen, intersect: parallel to the picture plane the lance-thrust spans the group in length; while, perpendicular to it, the blow with the battle axe spans it in depth. The space in which the encounter takes place is, as it were, defined from within. This space exists only in so far as it is filled with active forces; for there is here no predetermined, independently valid spatial volume into which the figures were later fitted, but a volume generated by their very actions. Action space and picture space are identical, a concept that differs basically from that underlying the *Last Supper*, in which the architectural frame, enclosing the figures like a shell, has an existence of its own.

The next stage in the evolution of the scene is to be found in the Venice Academy drawing showing the arched bridge at the right (Fig. 4). One new idea has transformed the scattered figures of the first version into the closely knit, compact group of the later sheet. In place of the tangible connection which Leonardo had established between the horsemen flanking the group, a connection that was formed by the combined standard and lance—instead, that is, of two shafts merging—there is now only the shaft of the standard. The intention was to make the standard, the concrete object of the struggle, the horizontal axis of the scene.

To realize this new idea it was above all necessary to bring the horseman at the right—separated from the flagstaff, in the first version of the Fight, by the length of his couched lance—close enough to the shaft for him to grasp it. The group therefore was compressed: the right-hand horseman was moved to the left, and the left-hand one slightly to the right. (These modifications may be observed by taking as a point of reference the standard-bearer in the left background, a subsidiary figure whose position is not altered.) Instead of the lance the assailant now holds what seems to be a broad, curved sword; he strikes an upward blow at the flagstaff, so that the long pole bends. As for the horses flanking the scene, greater cohesion is achieved: the horse at the left is more strongly foreshortened, and that at the right placed parallel to it. The parallelism of these horses, which determines both the structure and the rhythm of the new group, is the visible expression (or the formal equivalent) of the relation between the two riders who are competing for the standard—one threatening to capture it; the other, with its pole on his shoulder, trying to carry it to safety. Now the assailant is in the position first occupied by his fallen companion, who, with his horse, has been discarded. As a result, the central rider, who in the preceding version was striking at the foe on the ground, is aiming his blow at the right-hand horseman, who has taken the latter's place. Hence his gesture has acquired a new object and a new implication. For now the central rider's mount no longer joins in the rush to escape, but hurls itself upon the attacker. Separated by the standard, the adversaries meet head-on; the horses, too, meet in savage combat, their raised forelegs interlocked. Defensive action during flight—the original meaning of the gesture—has been transformed into counterattack.

The situation, then, is as follows: the left-hand rider is attempting to drag the standard out of reach of the assailant at the right; the central horseman comes to the aid of the rider at the left by approaching swiftly from the rear and himself attacking the attacker. What was at first a scene of pursuit, with the figures freely arranged and, in comparison, loosely related, has turned into combat at close quarters, with the figures tightly intermeshed. In the initial version, the energy generated in the conflict carried across empty space; now it is being discharged at short range. The

angle formed by the three horsemen who are taking an active part in the struggle is now acute instead of obtuse.

The first version had only men on horseback (Fig. 3); in the second, some footsoldiers have been added, who close the group obliquely at the right (Fig. 4). They, too, join in the fight for the standard. Armed with lances or long sticks, they are trying to tear the flag from its pole. In front of them, two men, crouching low, are engaged in single combat. More to the left, with his back turned, is another footsoldier (who is drawn again, on a larger scale, in the lower right-hand corner). His lunging posture parallels the diagonal formed by the men at the right, at the same time echoing the rearing and plunging of the horses.

A new addition to the riders participating in the fight appears on the farther side of the standard, just behind and above the right-hand assailant, in the figure of a horseman who is raising his left arm. His gesture, sketched in a summary manner, is a reverse image of that of the rider in the center. The different character of the line is sufficient indication that this figure was done later than the rest of the composition, a fact which explains why no room was left for the rider's horse in this compact group.

From a formal point of view there was no necessity for the insertion of an additional figure into the background. Indeed it may be said that its later introduction broke up or disturbed the tight rhythmic pattern developed from the original version, since the newly added rider remained outside the triangle enclosing the three fighting horsemen.

It will be remembered that Leonardo, when he first conceived the scene, was searching for a situation to precede and motivate the standard-bearer's successful escape, as sketched in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet in the British Museum. It was in accordance with this conception that, in the initial version (Fig. 3), one of the two pursuing riders had already been overcome and put out of action, and the attack thus half repulsed. From the next version of the group, arrived at by contraction (Fig. 4), the thrown rider and his horse were eliminated; thereby that motif was discarded which suggested a partial decision. Now there were but men in combat, none of them yet victorious or vanquished. The forces, however, remained unequal—one assailant against two defenders. In the end this inequality was removed by the introduction of a second attacking horseman, who, from the far side of the shaft, supports the one in the right foreground. By his entry into the conflict the situation is markedly changed: the forces are now evenly matched; attack and defense balance each other. Leonardo's original intention—so to organize the encounter as to give the advantage to one side and to make the outcome certain—was replaced, as the work progressed, by the idea of leaving the issue of the engagement in suspense.

This change in plan was brought about by what may be termed an external cause: the existence of another group and the consequent necessity of avoiding the collision or overlapping of their themes. For the first time in the genesis of the Fight for the Standard we can perceive that the group is not a self-contained, independent composition, but rather one of several interrelated episodes. The fading of the earlier concept and the emergence of a new one bear witness to the mounting predominance of the whole over its parts. A plan is beginning to take shape in which the parts are joined and integrated, a plan gradually evolved out of the artist's heightened awareness of the exigencies of his growing work. At this point we have reached the stage in the development of the *Battle* when no longer the creator, but the thing that is being created, commands.

II. THE TWO-RIDER-GROUP

... jene ursprüngliche Schwierigkeit, erst Kämpfende, sodann aber Sieger und Besiegte charakteristisch gegeneinander zu stellen. . . .—Goethe

We now return to the drawing in London, which marks, if not the earliest, at any rate a quite early phase in the development of the work (Fig. 1). From these incomparable studies of move-

ment at its most vehement two were selected by Leonardo for subsequent elaboration. The study at the lower right was expanded into the Fight for the Standard; the scene above it is the first version of what was to become its pendant. Of all the compositional sketches for the *Battle of Anghiari* this is by far the most powerful; the others seem tame in comparison.

With head thrown back, a riderless horse, almost parallel to the picture plane, tries to ward off and escape the savage attack of a second animal, which has leapt upon its flank from behind. The rider of the attacking horse aims a downward thrust with his weapon at the enemy horseman, who has just fallen near the hind legs of his own mount; his bent left leg has struck the ground, while the outstretched right one is still in the air. Storming toward the beholder, a third horseman charges past the others at full gallop; he leans from the saddle and, with all his force, drives the point of his lance into the enemy on the ground. The impetuous violence of the fighting, its excitement and bitter fury, are reflected in the way in which the three horses are moving outward, each in a different direction, leaving a funnel-shaped space in the center which separates the attacking horsemen.

Two later versions of this scene are to be found on a sheet at Venice (Fig. 2). Here the Two-Rider-Group, as we shall call it, forms in each case the right-hand portion of a larger composition.²⁰ Let us first consider the version at the upper right, drawn and corrected with a bold pen.

The theme is essentially unchanged: once again a fallen rider is being fiercely attacked by two horsemen who, from either side, try to pierce him with their lances. Though the right-hand horseman's position and action recall those of the previous version, the rest of the scene has been much altered. The horses (which were sketched twice, once emerging from the background and once galloping toward it) are moving in the same direction instead of diverging violently, as they did in the first variant. In the second, both of them are shown in extreme foreshortening. The principal difference, however, between the earlier version and this one lies in the choice of another moment in the sequence of events: Leonardo now depicts the incident as it might appear at a slightly later stage, perhaps after a few seconds. Even the horse which, in the first version, had continued to resist, trying to shake off the attacker, has been overthrown. All opposition has now ceased; both horse and rider are defeated and at the mercy of the victors, who are rushing past. Only the neck of the animal, straining upward in a painful effort, reveals the last remaining trace of a desperate resistance.

The defeated man lies outstretched before the body of his horse. In the first version of the group, he was shown in the act of falling, at the instant when, thrown from the saddle, he had struck the ground head first, one leg still suspended in the air. Here an *event* was depicted—the fall from the horse. In the next version a *state* is described—the utter defeat that succeeded the fall. On the sheet in the British Museum, cause and effect were rendered together: the attack and its result—the unhorsing of the rider. In the ensuing version, however, his downfall is not motivated, no explanation being offered as to what it was that unseated him; the two riders who dash past simply give him the coup-de-grâce, finishing him off with their lances. These allied horsemen are not fighting, since they meet with no resistance; they act as executioners. The significance of the scene has changed: the emphasis is no longer on battle but on victory.

In the third version of the group, which appears on the same drawing at Venice, just below the second version, the new intent becomes even clearer.

20. The best account of the group discussed in the present section is the following description by Richter, written when he first published the sketches at London, Venice and Windsor Castle (*Literary Works*, 1883, I, pp. 336-337; 1939, I, pp. 375-376): "On the sheet in the British Museum there is also a group of horses galloping forwards: one horseman is thrown and protects himself with his buckler against the lance-thrusts of two others, who try to pierce him as they ride past. The

same action is repeated, with some variation, in two sketches in pen and ink on a third sheet, in the Accademia at Venice, and this suggests the probability of such an incident having actually been represented on the cartoon. It is impossible to say which of these three sketches may have been the nearest to the group finally adopted in the cartoon." For the cartoon, see above, note 2. The chronological sequence of the three sketches would seem to be self-evident.

On the whole, the compositional scheme of the second version has been retained. The fallen horse lies again in the center, with the horses of the combatants arranged symmetrically on either side. The extreme foreshortening has been abandoned. The horsemen now ride toward each other, to form an angle the apex of which points back into space, the diagonals made by their galloping horses marking two sides of a triangle. (The placement of the horses in space, their relationship to one another, underwent a change from variant to variant, at first diverging, then parallel, and now, finally, converging.) In the earlier versions a caesura lay between the attacking riders: in the first a funnel-shaped hollow; in the second an opening, into which the neck of the overthrown horse protruded vertically. This was a group in bold silhouette, with an open center and fluid contours. In the third variant, the group is as solid in its contours as in the placing of its figures. The movement is centripetal; the outline, no longer agitated as in the earlier two versions, has assumed the same regularity as has that of the Fight for the Standard in the final variant (Fig. 4): the parallelogram of the latter now finds its analogy in the triangle of the Two-Rider-Group. The confused and passionate movement of battle is in the end subordinated to the clarity of geometrical figures.

The change in the meaning of the scene is most strikingly revealed by the metamorphosis of the attacked and riderless horse. In the last version it is lying in a twisted position, its head bent back, slightly in front of the galloping horses—passive, motionless, resigned. In the first version it was on its feet and trying to escape from the teeth of the fiercely attacking enemy horse; in the second, it had been thrown to the ground, but its upstretched neck still indicated a last flicker of resistance. In the third, the wounded animal helplessly watches the attack without any attempt at self-defense. (As so often with Leonardo, the different versions illustrate consecutive phases of the same action.)

The two riders aim only at the horse. The thrown warrior is assailed by a footsoldier at the right, who, with poised and straining body, his sword lifted with both hands, braces himself for a deadly blow.²¹ The harsh and almost brutal contrast between the helplessness of the fallen man and the aggressive vigor of the one hovering above him serves to express the same idea as the despatch of the fallen horse by the two riders galloping past. The fighters, both the man and the animal, are not slain in combat, they are simply slaughtered. Their defeat is made complete; the vanquished foe is annihilated. The episode, in this last version, is the symbol of a remorseless, an inexorable triumph, a paradigm of the frenzy of battle, "pazzia bestialissima."²²

If the several versions of the Two-Rider-Group are compared with those of the Fight for the Standard, no doubt can remain that a correspondence and mutual dependence exist. From a certain point in their evolution, the development of one group paralleled that of the other. To the same degree that the Fight for the Standard developed toward a scene of mere combat, the Two-Rider-Group evolved toward one of unalloyed triumph. Step by step the Fight for the Standard was cleared of all that was prophetic of either victory or defeat, while whatever suggested resistance or struggle was simultaneously discarded from the group of the two riders. In the first version of either scene, combat and triumph were both present. Only later was a principle of organization found and applied by which these two elements or themes were to be strictly separated. Each scene was now freed from that element which, in the course of elaboration, had emerged as the dominant

21. A more detailed study in pen and ink of the same pose and action, reversed and slightly modified, appears on a drawing at Turin (Fig. 7). The warrior's cloak flying out behind him, which is barely indicated in the compositional sketch, is here fully visible.

On the drawing at Turin there is also a highly expressive, diagrammatic abbreviation of the rider storming to the attack, first sketched in the upper left-hand part of the British Museum sheet (see Fig. 1). In the Turin variant, clouds of dust mark the path of the galloping horse. This horse alone,

with its head drawn twice, once stretched forward and once turned as if looking back, occurs also on a drawing at Windsor (12328r).

22. "... nelle istorie fanne [scil. li scorti] in tutti li modi che ti accade, et massime nelle bataglie, dove per nescessita accade infiniti storciamenti e piegamenti delli compositori di tale discordia, o vo' dire pazzia bestialissima" (Leonardo da Vinci, *Das Buch von der Malerei*, ed. Heinrich Ludwig, *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, xv-xvii, Vienna, 1882, no. 177: "Del comporre le istorie").

theme of the other, until at length in each episode a definite dramatic idea, a characteristic phase of battle, was given clear and specific expression.

The close connection between the two scenes during the creative process is further evidenced by the fact that a number of motifs—formal and factual—were interchanged. The addition of a second assailant to the group on the sheet with the bridge lessened the compositional value of the triangle that united the riders engaged in the struggle for the standard. The geometrical figure, abandoned in this group, was adopted by Leonardo as the linear frame enclosing the other. In a similar way Leonardo transferred the fallen rider and his horse, almost without change, from the first version of the Fight for the Standard to the third version of the Two-Rider-Group.

The Two-Rider-Group and the Fight for the Standard, which were separately conceived and then progressively correlated, have attained in their ultimate versions a state of conceptual interdependence. However complete and self-sufficient each of the two scenes may appear to the casual observer, they reveal their full significance only when they are taken in conjunction. If the Fight for the Standard represents "the last wavering moment of victory,"²³ the Two-Rider-Group symbolizes, in the helpless warrior lying prostrate on the ground, victory achieved.

III. THE DESIGN FOR THE WHOLE

What is organization, but the connection of parts to a whole, so that each part is at once end and means.—Coleridge

We have found in the episode symbolizing victory the companion scene to the Fight for the Standard—its thematic complement. This companion scene, however, was not designed in isolation. Only in the initial version does the Two-Rider-Group stand alone; in the second and third versions, on the sheet in the Venice Academy, it forms part of a composition which continues to the left (Fig. 2).

Each of the two composite sketches appearing one above the other on the Venice sheet comprises two episodes or groups of approximately equal size. Those at the right have been discussed at some length in the preceding section; the others can be dealt with more briefly. The left-hand group of the upper drawing consists of a number of footsoldiers in a variety of poses. What these figures are doing is not clear; two of them, stooping, wield long poles apparently aimed at a man on the ground. In the left half of the lower sketch there are, besides some footsoldiers and several fallen warriors, two riders on wildly rearing horses, brandishing spears.

Though the episodes at the left are quite unlike in content, they share a characteristic which shows that they, too, are variants, successive attempts at devising a group that has a definite formal function. Both groups ascend toward the right, leading in a single curve toward the Two-Rider-Group. This rising curve, as is easily seen, was not called for by the subject but, rather, imposed upon it. The movement is particularly evident in the left-hand scene of the lower composition, which unfolds wholly in one direction. An emphatic diagonal runs through the group. It appears in the rearing horses, in the foreshortening of the man lying in the foreground (the latter, no doubt, a reminiscence of Paolo Uccello's *Battle* in the London National Gallery), in the figures of two of the footsoldiers, and in the pole which the one to the rear holds exactly parallel to the body of the horse next to him.²⁴ The scene is constructed in such a way that it expands toward the right.

There is one more peculiarity common to the two compositions, which deserves to be pointed out. In each of them, whatever lies to the right of a distinct gap, or caesura, is shifted slightly but un-

23. Goethe, "Anhang zur Lebensbeschreibung des Benvenuto Cellini," IV, 2.

24. A separate study in black chalk of the footsoldier farthest to the rear is on the verso of the sheet at the British Museum (Fig. 6). Here the figure, partly hidden in the Venice Academy drawing, is sketched out in full. The warrior

lunges to the right, looking back over one shoulder; with both hands he grasps a pole (which would appear to be a flagstaff rather than a lance or spear). The chalk sketch is an indication that Leonardo had begun making detailed studies for this group, having passed beyond the stage of clarifying the composition.

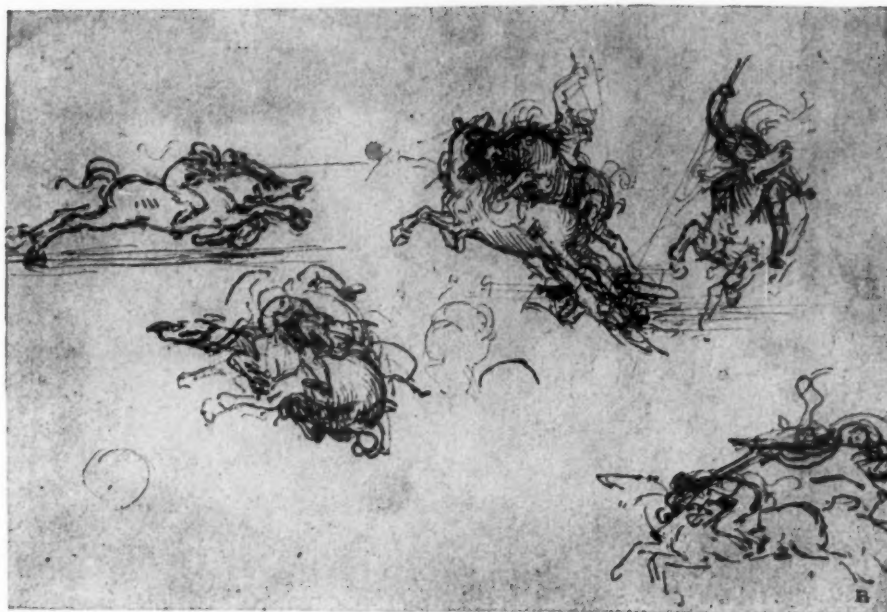


FIG. 1. Leonardo da Vinci, First ideas for the *Battle of Anghiari*, pen and ink. London, British Museum

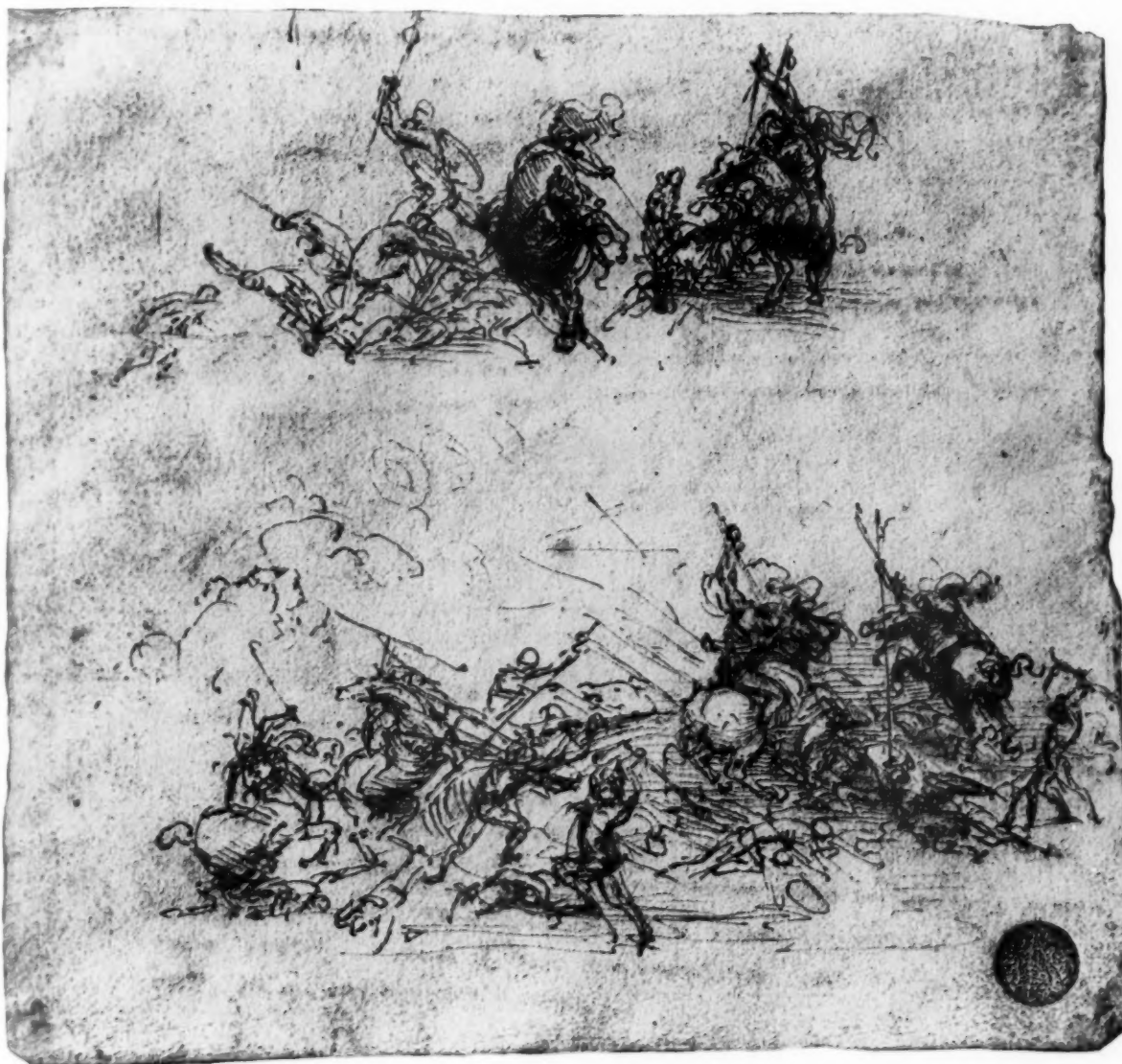


FIG. 2. Leonardo da Vinci, Sketches for the *Battle of Anghiari*, pen and ink. Venice, Academy

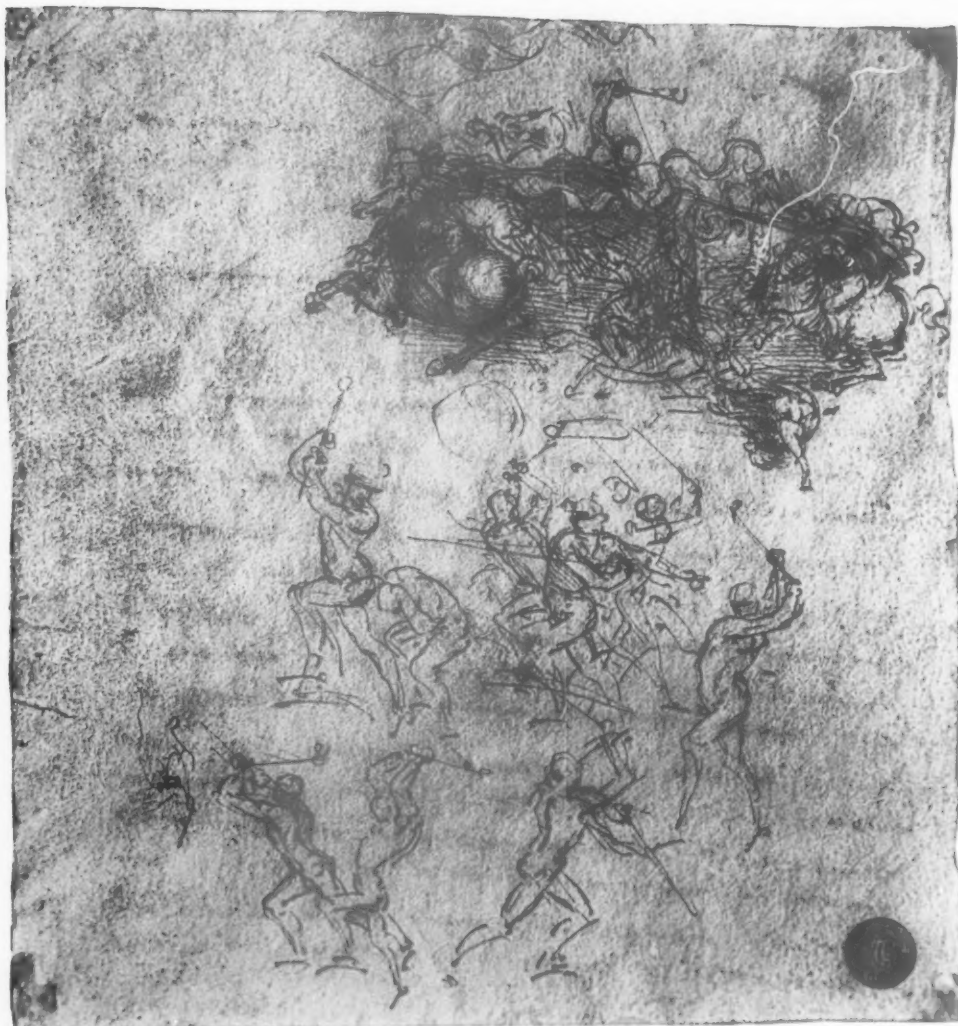


FIG. 3. Leonardo da Vinci, First version of the Fight for the Standard, pen and ink. Venice, Academy

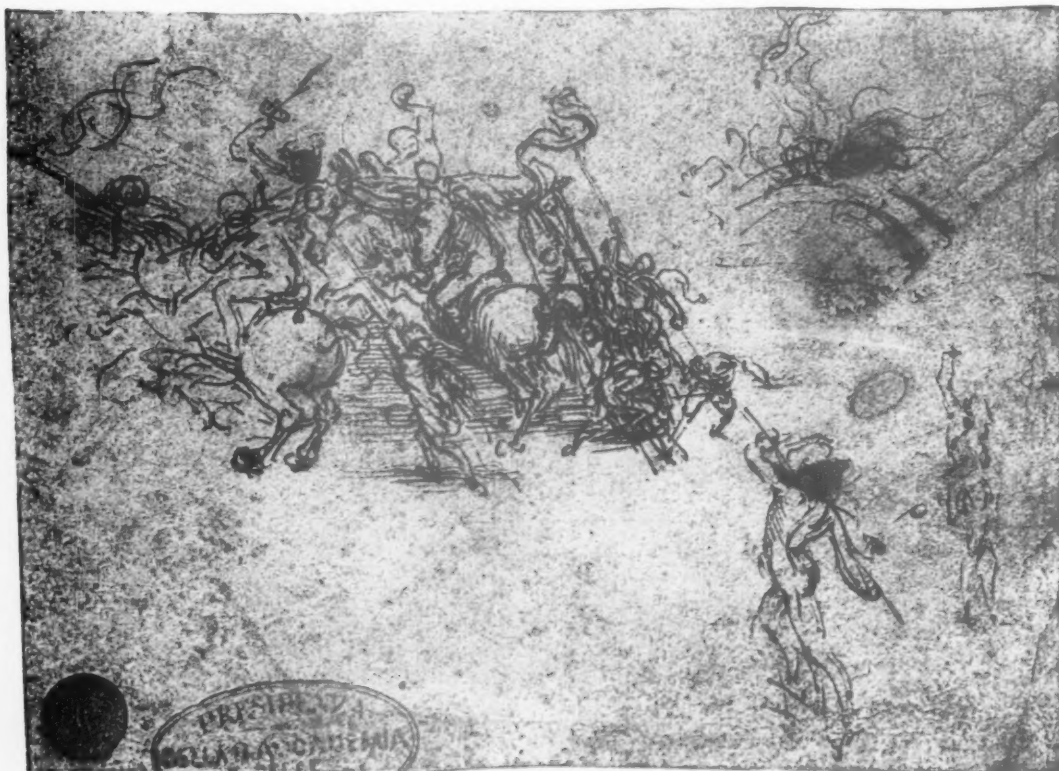


FIG. 4. Leonardo da Vinci, Second version of the Fight for the Standard, pen and ink. Venice, Academy

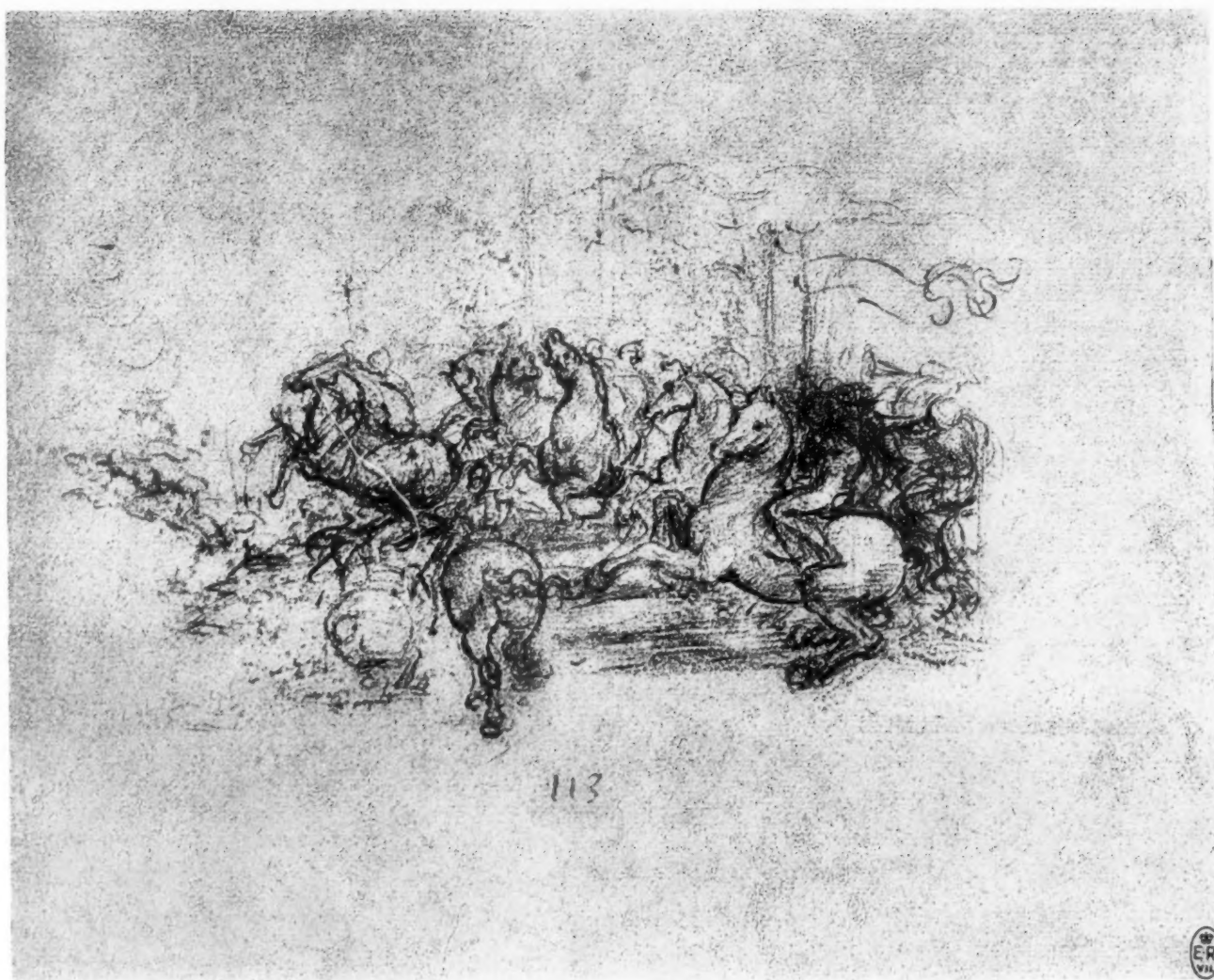


FIG. 5. Leonardo da Vinci, Cavalcade, black chalk. Windsor Castle, Royal Library

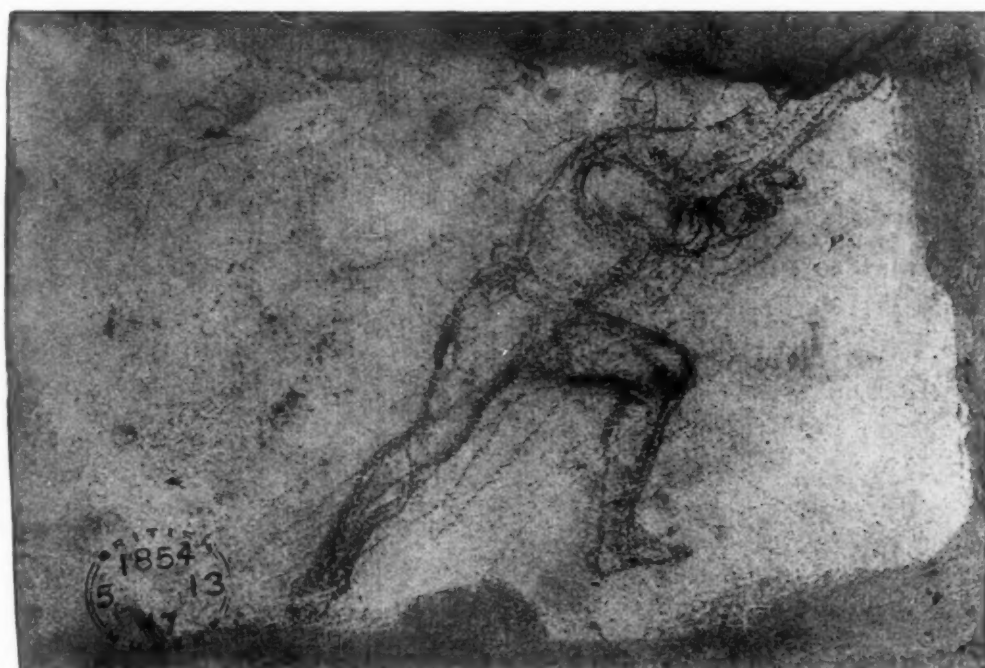


FIG. 6. Leonardo da Vinci, Study for the *Battle of Anghiari*, black chalk.
London, British Museum

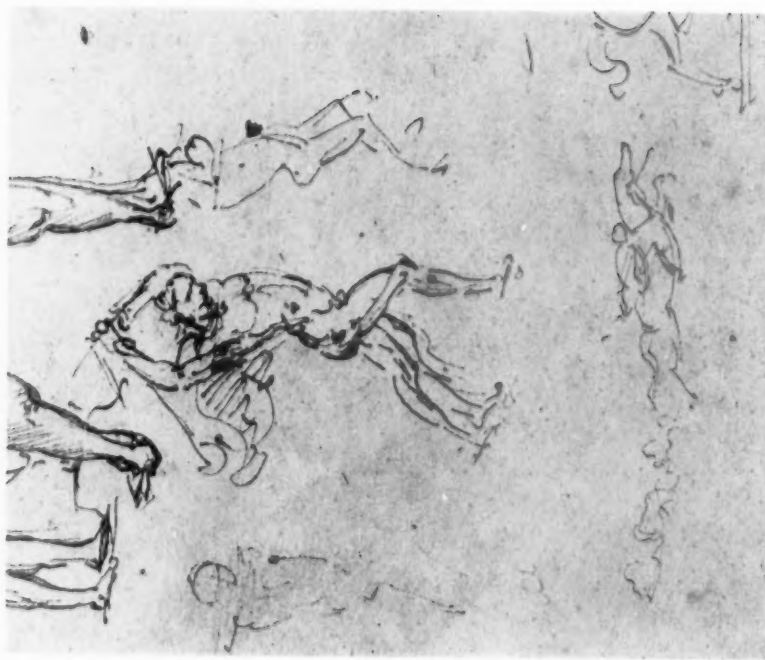


FIG. 7. Leonardo da Vinci, Studies for the *Battle of Anghiari*, detail, pen and ink. Turin, Library



FIG. 8. Raphael, Copy of the Fight for the Standard, silverpoint. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

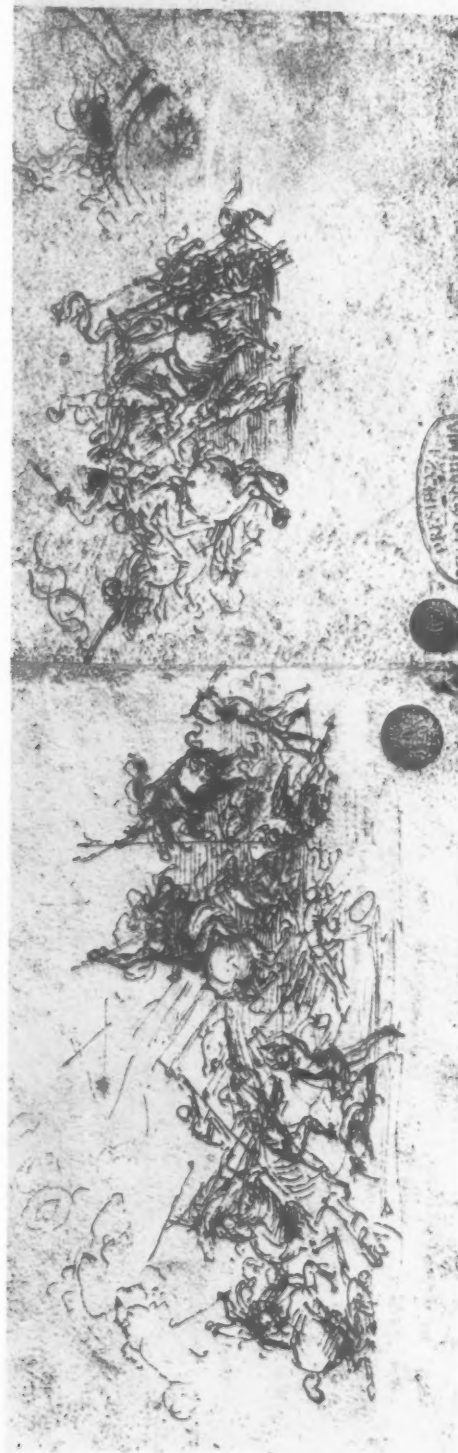


FIG. 9. Composition (reconstructed) of the *Battle of Anghiari*



mistakably upward, receding a little into the background. In the upper composition the left-hand horse of the Two-Rider-Group is placed next to this caesura; in the lower, the footsoldier who is lunging to the left in the foreground of the group marks the corresponding point. A perpendicular line would join these two figures, which appear at an equal distance from the left end of the composition, while both compositions terminate at virtually the same distance from the left edge of the sheet. That is, those parts of the two compositions which are closest to the spectator are identical in length, regardless of their subject matter.

This triple correspondence, then—in the theme of the right-hand group, the curved progression on the left, and the recession right of center—demonstrates that the two sketches, little as they resemble each other, show alternative solutions of one compositional problem: that of connecting the Victory Group with an introductory scene, a kind of Prelude, on the left. While the theme of the right-hand group was fixed, that of the left-hand one could be varied, its content being secondary to its purely formal purpose of leading the eye to the group on the right.

In the upper sketch the two groups are joined in a somewhat mechanical way, by means of overlapping, clearly a tentative solution which, as shown by the next version, was immediately abandoned. In the lower composition the two scenes are separated. But though treated as distinct entities, they are closely coordinated: the diagonal movement from left to right, which pervades the scene on the left, is taken up and repeated by the nearer horse of the scene on the right. Continuity of movement is carried across the gap dividing the Two-Rider-Group from the introductory scene.

The horses of the Two-Rider-Group balance each other symmetrically. The arrangement is suggestive. It invites an inference by analogy. Was not the method of organization resorted to in *one* half of the group, applied also to the other half? Is there not an episode whose prevailing movement is repeated by the Two-Rider-Group's right-hand horse, just as the prevailing movement of the Prelude is repeated by the left-hand one?

There is such an episode. If we place the Fight for the Standard, in the version of the sheet with the bridge (Fig. 4), next to the Two-Rider-Group, it is at once apparent that the pronounced diagonal movement which characterizes the Fight for the Standard is taken up by the right-hand horse of the other group. In precisely the same manner that continuity of movement is carried across the gap dividing the Two-Rider-Group from the episode on its left, movement continues across the gap dividing it from the scene on its right.

These, then, are the "missing" parts which complete the composition of the *Battle of Anghiari* on the left-hand side: the two episodes shown in the lower sketch of the Venice Academy sheet, which were to be contiguous to the Fight for the Standard (Figs. 2 and 4).

The way in which the Fight for the Standard and the Two-Rider-Group are related thematically has been deduced from their genesis. The way in which they are related in space and on the picture plane is revealed by the method of coordination which has been described. The two crucial episodes of the *Battle*, scenes of pure fighting and pure triumph, were to be placed in juxtaposition. Leonardo had planned a kind of triptych for the left side of the Bridge, a sequence of three scenes of combat, separated by caesuras, each treated as an entity and yet all pictorially interconnected: next to the Bridge the Fight for the Standard, then the Victory Group, and at the extreme left the Prelude.

The space to the right of the arched bridge was to be filled by the Cavalcade. The black chalk study at Windsor Castle (Fig. 5), through which this group is known to us, differs in technique and scale from the other drawings;²⁵ it is evidently not a first draft. At least one preliminary sketch, quickly set down in pen and ink, must have preceded this majestic and highly finished composi-

25. The authenticity of the study and its state of preservation have been considered in note 5.

tion.²⁶ (Leonardo employed pen and ink to capture and express an idea; he used chalk when he was confident that the idea had crystallized.) The Cavalcade shows a troop of reserves, recalling those which are described in Leonardo's famous chapter on "How to represent a battle," written fifteen years earlier.²⁷ For the drawing he has chosen the moment at which the "squadra del soccorso" sets out in a body, with pennants raised. A horseman at the right sounds his horn, giving the signal to advance; the commander of the squadron, near the center, points to the left.

From a group replete with daring foreshortenings and contrasted attitudes and positions, three horses, fully visible, emerge parallel to the picture plane, one in the right foreground, another one (the commander's horse) left of center, and a third one in the left background. The relationship between these three horses is that their relative size decreases in proportion as the speed of their forward motion increases. The large horse in the right foreground, though prancing, is not yet moving from its place; the noticeably smaller horse of the rider in command has just started to advance; while the tiny horse in the left background is galloping away at full tilt. In an often-quoted passage of the *Trattato della pittura*, Leonardo speaks of two types of motion, namely, local and actional. The first of these is locomotion; the second is motion carried out by "men or animals in themselves, without change of place."²⁸ The three unforeshortened horses of the Cavalcade are effecting a gradual transition from an actional to a local movement that gains progressively in speed.²⁹ The group of horsemen is on the point of advancing irresistibly leftward, in the direction of the climax of the battle composition.

In the right-hand part of the group, the horses, ranged obliquely behind the commander, are forcibly restrained by their riders to prevent them from breaking away too soon; similarly, in the Prelude at the opposite end of the composition the cavorting horses are curbed by their riders. Thus a correspondence exists between the right- and left-hand terminal scenes (Figs. 2 and 5). The extended composition ends at either side with horses that are restricted to actional motion, in contrast to those in the central groups, which display rapid locomotion. Energy is contained at the edges, but it is freely released in the middle. The distinction between the two kinds of movement, as formulated in the *Trattato*, is applied in the design for the *Battle* to differentiate between principal and subordinate episodes, between central and marginal groups.

However, motion in the *Battle* is not only a means of differentiation; it is also the means of connecting the scenes—Prelude, Two-Rider-Group, Fight for the Standard, Bridge, and Cavalcade (Fig. 9).³⁰ Their unification is brought about in a manner comparable to that used in the *Last Sup-*

26. The first draft of the Cavalcade is the only major lacuna in the material illustrating the evolution of the *Battle*. It is indeed quite possible that, with this exception, the series of compositional sketches originally executed has come down to us complete. On the other hand, a greater number of detailed studies than are now known must at one time have existed.

27. "Vederesti le squadre del soccorso stare pien di speranza e sospetto co le ciglia aguza, faciendo a quelle onbra co le mani, e riguardare, infra la folta e confusa caligine, dell' essere attenti al comandamento del capitano; e simile il capitano col bastone levato e corente inverso il soccorso, mostrare a quelli la parte dove di loro è carestia" MS A, fol. 110^v (Ashburnham 2185, fol. 30^v).

28. "De li movimenti del huomo et altri animali. Li moti degli animali sono di due spetie, cioè, moto lochale e moto actionale. Il moto lochale è, quando l'animale si move da locho a locho, e'l moto actionale è'l moto, che fa l'animale in sè medesimo senza mutation di locho" (*Trattato*, ed. Ludwig, no. 304).

29. The idea carried out here, of progressive acceleration within one and the same group, had previously been used by Uccello in his *Battle* at the Louvre. This *Battle*, moreover, had the same function for the *Rotta di San Romano* (comprising the three panel paintings now at the Louvre, the

Uffizi and the London National Gallery), as has Leonardo's Cavalcade for the *Battle of Anghiari*: both represent the right-hand section of a battle composition consisting of several episodes; and both show auxiliary troops, who turn, at the commander's order, in the direction of the fighting.

Uccello's *Rotta di San Romano* has quite often been disparaged or made light of when compared with the *Battle of Anghiari*. Yet in more than one respect Uccello had prepared the way. Earlier renderings of a battle—as, for instance, the monochrome fresco of the *Battle of Val di Chiana* (Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala del Mappamondo; ca. 1370)—offered a kind of bird's-eye view of the whole engagement. They presented not so much an encounter between men as a clash of armies. Uccello changed the emphasis, shifting it from the action of masses to that of a few distinctive groups. Instead of a multitude of figures in a continuous array he gave a sequence of episodes which complemented and balanced each other. While the painter of the Trecento aimed at a chronicle-like illustration, Uccello, selecting a limited number of characteristic battle scenes, dramatized rather than narrated the historical event. Leonardo's indebtedness to Uccello is apparent.

30. Fig. 9 is appended as an approximate reconstruction of Leonardo da Vinci's plan for the *Battle of Anghiari*. This composite figure, however, should be regarded with some caution. While it indicates the sequence and general relationship

per, which Leonardo had completed six years before he began the *Battle*. In the earlier work, the twelve Apostles are divided into four groups of three, to the right and left of Christ, who sits quietly in the center. Two movements, or rather waves of motion, make their way toward Christ from the ends of the table. Conveyed by the gestures of St. Matthew and St. James the Less, the waves run from group to group, bridging the intervals: they bind the groups of three Apostles into more massive units of six, these units being kept in balance not so much by symmetry as by a dynamic correspondence. An analogous method of organization is employed in the *Battle of Angiari*. Again the groups are distributed between two streams of movement. But in the battle composition these streams are of unequal length: the principal movement comes from the right and sweeps through perhaps five sevenths of the whole, beginning with the Cavalcade and ending in the Two-Rider-Group. Here it meets the counter-movement at a point that is sharply accentuated by the vertical thrust of a lance. This counter-movement is carried out by the figures of the Prelude and the adjacent horse of the Victory Scene. Continuity of motion again combines the smaller units into larger ones.

Within the longer of the waves, the arch of the bridge marks a division, without, however, halting the movement. Standing between two episodes, which develop in the same direction, the arch of the bridge serves to emphasize the momentum or impetus of the wave; for the movement from right to left not only is not arrested here but is felt surging over the arch. Thus a rock which breaks the surface of a swiftly racing river makes doubly apparent the force of the current.

The idea of organizing the composition in two ways—into groups and into streams of movement which connect and link these groups—was not foreseen at the beginning. It took shape only gradually as the outlines of the design for the entire work emerged and Leonardo applied himself to the task of coordinating those episodes which he had conceived (and, for a short time, developed) independently. In the creative process a first stage of freely inventing separate scenes, essentially expressive, was followed by a stage of connecting, recomposing, and thinking in terms of the whole. Now this two-fold organization of the *Battle of Angiari* into groups and streams of movement presupposes a definite structure in each of the constituent groups, so that those at the margins initiate the movement, while those in the center continue it. The central groups must be so formed that they can become a part of a stream; they must be amenable to a movement that pervades and passes through them. The Two-Rider-Group and the Fight for the Standard did not at first fulfill this condition; they were given the necessary structure only in their final versions, as the result of a series of modifications which, since they shed further light upon Leonardo's mode of procedure, deserve a brief examination.

In the first version of the Two-Rider-Group, the rather violent dispersal in three different directions prevents any uninterrupted flow (Fig. 1). At the left-hand side a continuation would appear to be possible, but on the right the brusquely foreshortened horse blocks further movement in that direction. Similarly in the second variant the foreshortening of both horses does not permit a free-flowing movement (Fig. 2). Here the horses' bodies are like partitions cutting the picture plane at right angles. The ultimate version brings the solution: now the two horses are placed obliquely so that each horse forms the end of one of the streams. The climactic scene of the *Battle*, perfectly fusing form and content, combines the two opposing movements by having an equal share in each.

It is for another reason that the first version of the Fight for the Standard resists being organized or inserted into a larger composition (Fig. 3). Although the theme is flight and pursuit, actions

of the episodes, it is not intended as offering a precise solution of problems that cannot, in point of fact, be settled. The horizontal alignment of the three drawings and the extent of the gaps between them must remain matters for conjecture. It should

also be remembered that the Windsor Cavalcade, which represents, as has been explained, a more advanced stage of preparation, differs in both scale and medium from the Venice sketches.

necessarily developing in a single direction, the group is designed in such a way that it could form a self-contained whole. It owes its balance primarily to the strong emphasis placed on its center, toward which the lance on the right slants upward, while from it the flag on the left slopes downward. Above the point where the two shafts meet is the raised arm of the central rider. All the horses are galloping to the left, but their advance in this direction is counterbalanced by the arm which points in the opposite direction. The eye is first caught by, and then returns to, this powerful and arresting gesture, which interrupts the stream of movement, breaking the continuity of the flow from right to left. When Leonardo sketched the Fight again (Fig. 4), he retained the raised right arm; and at first, in the new version, it had still the same effect as in the preceding one. Then, however, for the reasons which we have considered above, he added the horseman in the right background, giving this newly introduced figure a contour that repeated the gesture of the central rider as in a mirror. The raised arm brandishing a weapon, which had, in a sense, served as a brake to the movement from right to left, was neutralized or de-emphasized by a corresponding gesture echoing it symmetrically.

But not the gesture alone was weakened; the rider himself was reduced in importance. The duplication of the motif robbed him of the prominence derived from his isolated position at the center of the group. Thus the configuration already established in the other episodes was now also achieved in the Fight for the Standard—a complete equivalence of all riders taking part in the struggle. At the start, and perhaps instinctively, Leonardo had given far greater scope to individual action. But this, as the work progressed, was by degrees subordinated to the action of the group. In the final composition no episode is dominated by a single protagonist. Even the commander of the "squadra del soccorso" does not tower over his men, but remains a rider among riders (Fig. 5). The *Battle of Anghiari* is a battle without a hero. Its course and outcome are not determined by any one individual, whether leader or nameless warrior; they are decided by concerted, that is, coordinated action. This coordination is expressed by the grouping of the riders in the fighting scenes to the left of the Bridge. The horsemen are here arranged in pairs and the action distributed equally between two (or twice two) figures. In the Prelude and the Victory Scene, the riders in each case perform an identical manoeuvre (Fig. 2); in the Fight for the Standard they are so placed that two assailants appear on the right and two defenders on the left, two riders standing on the near side and two on the far side of the shaft (Fig. 4).

The horseman carrying a flag in the background to the left, who remains outside this scheme, being merely a survivor from an earlier conception, was subsequently eliminated (see Raphael's copy, Fig. 8). So were the footsoldiers at the right, who are trying to reach the cloth of the standard, and the two crouching warriors in front of them. The single footsoldier in the middle was replaced by the two on the ground; and the kneeling man on the left, who protects himself with his shield, was added to fill the empty space under the horse of the standard-bearer.

The deletions, additions, and changes of details—corrections made by Leonardo not at the stage of the present drawing but later, in the cartoon or the mural, as shown by the numerous copies extant—are concerned with incidental matter and peripheral figures only. The structure of the group itself, its compositional skeleton, was not affected by these revisions.³¹ The parallels formed by the horses' bodies; the oblique recession at right and left, and the counter-movement in the center; the animals tearing at each other, with their raised forelegs interlocked; the flagstaff which holds the group together, relating the riders to one another and welding them into a unit; the positions of the horsemen in front of and behind the shaft—all this was transferred with little

31. Of the many changes of details only one can here be mentioned. In the drawing, the rider in the left foreground has his back turned toward the spectator (Fig. 4). Later the standard-bearer's posture did not satisfy Leonardo and he gave the figure the strong torsion which appears in all the copies

(Fig. 8). We are reminded of the passage from the *Trattato della pittura*, quoted in note 22: "nelle bataglie . . . accade infiniti storciamenti e piegamenti delli componitori di tale discordia."

change from the small drawing in pen and ink (Fig. 4) to the more than life-size fresco (cf. Fig. 8). The design of the group on the sheet with the bridge, which formed part of a coherent whole, was retained in all its essentials in the portion of the *Battle* actually executed. Since this section was retained, it may safely be concluded that the design for the complete work, as inferred from Leonardo's sketches in London, Venice, and Windsor Castle, likewise remained valid until the end.³²

32. After this study had been completed, there appeared J. Wilde's "The Hall of the Great Council of Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII, 1944 (1946), pp. 65-81. His article concludes with these words: "[Leonardo's Fight for the Standard and Michelangelo's Bathing Soldiers], far from being self-contained wholes, must be regarded as mere fragments of the extensive battle compositions with which the Council Hall of democratic Florence was to be decorated." Wilde is not concerned with the form or content of the two compositions, but has finally succeeded in identifying the place assigned to the *Battle of Anghiari*, namely, the rectangular space to the right of the Gonfaloniere's

seat on the east wall of the *Sala*. This seat, which was flanked by doors and windows, divided the wall into two equal parts, of considerable size and identical shape. (Leonardo's space was "to the right" from the spectator's point of view.) The space on the left was to be filled by Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina*. This arrangement accords with the fact that in Leonardo's *Battle*, as was pointed out above, the main movement is from right to left; the purpose was to lead the eye toward the seat of the Gonfaloniere, in the center of the wall.

Wilde's conclusions, it will be seen, exactly coincide with those reached in the present reconstruction.

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THE EARLIEST WORKS OF BRONZINO¹

CRAIG HUGH SMYTH

IN THE study of Bronzino's early development as a painter² attention has centered largely on the well-known works of the 1530's, after Bronzino's closest association with his master, Pontormo, was over and his own distinctive style was becoming clearly established. Bronzino continued to return and assist Pontormo in major works after 1530. But by this year he had already begun to have an independent reputation, according to Vasari,³ and his departure from Florence at this date to enter for a short period the Duke of Urbino's service at Pesaro⁴ is evidence that he was now making his mark. It is his portrait of the Duke, an important commission undertaken in 1531 or 1532 during his stay,⁵ which has been the usual starting point for careful study of Bronzino's painting.

Critics agree that the Duke's portrait is still somewhat Pontormesque, but that it shows a departure from Pontormo, toward harder modeling, coolness in spirit, and a new representational devotion, especially to the outward marks of the sitter's interests and position. These characteristics appear again in the next surely, if only approximately, datable painting, the *Portrait of Ugolino Martelli* of 1535-1538,⁶ from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. Although it recalls Pontormo still, this picture is now unmistakably in Bronzino's own familiar style and one of his finest works. It is evident here that in combination with precise representation Bronzino also developed in these years a rigorous sense of design, in cool abstracted colors. He reinforced in this way the impersonality and distance which are so marked in his portraits and created a manner very distinct from the unquiet, fluent one Pontormo had evolved before him. The arresting effect of the Berlin painting is no doubt partly due to the height, proud immobility, and elegance of the figure, but it owes much

1. The present article is an amplified version of a paper read at the meeting of College Art Association of America in Boston in January 1948.

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2. The principal modern accounts of Bronzino's career as a whole are: Albertina Furno, *La Vita e le rime di Angiolo Bronzino*, Pistoia, 1902; Hanns Schulze, *Die Werke Angelo Bronzinos*, Strassburg, 1911; Emil Schaeffer, "Bronzino," in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*, v, 1911, pp. 60-63; Fritz Goldschmidt, *Pontormo, Rosso und Bronzino—Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der Raumdarstellung*, Leipzig, 1911; Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*,

Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 208-231; Mario Tinti, *Bronzino*, ed. Piccola collezione d'arte, no. 10, Florence, 1920; Mario Tinti, "Agnolo Bronzino pittore 'Platonico,'" *Dedalo*, I, 1920, pp. 223-247, 322-331; Arthur McComb, *Agnolo Bronzino, His Life and Works*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928; Mario Tinti, "Bronzino," *Enciclopedia italiana*, Rome, 1930, VII, pp. 926-928; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, IX, vi, 1933, pp. 1ff.; Luisa Becherucci, *Manieristi toscani*, Bergamo, 1944, pp. 42ff. Becherucci devotes somewhat more than usual mention to works before 1530.

3. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, etc., ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-85, VII, p. 594: "... nei quali detti tempi . . . fece anco molti ritratti di diversi, e quadri che gli diedero gran nome."

4. Bernhard Patzak, *Die Villa Imperiale in Pesaro*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 16-17, 241ff. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 276 and VII, pp. 594-595. In both passages Vasari connects Bronzino's departure for Pesaro with the end of the siege of Florence (August 1530).

5. Cf. Carl Justi, "Die Bildnisse des Kardinals Hippolyt von Medici in Florenz," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., VIII, 1897, pp. 34-40; Frederick Mortimer Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo, His Life and Work*, New Haven, 1916 (hereafter Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*), p. 203; McComb, *op.cit.*, p. 57 and pl. 1; Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pl. 121.

6. Cf. Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pl. 122. Signed. Dated on the basis of the age of the sitter, who was born in 1519. (Cf. McComb, *op.cit.*, p. 45; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und Deutschen Museum*, 9th ed., Berlin, 1931, p. 67.) The picture is listed by Vasari at a point in Bronzino's career which agrees in general with the date accepted for it. Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 595.

to the simple ornamental structure of the picture. The figure is in the nearest foreground, sharply isolated from its surroundings. In spite of its three-dimensional, Michelangelesque pose,⁷ it appears locked, as it were, against the surface of the panel by the breadth and clarity of its silhouette. Even the architecture, though shown in deep perspective, seems to adhere to the surface and provide by its strict verticals and horizontals a compositional framework very closely related to the directions of the picture plane. These developments are typical of the mannerist painting of Bronzino in the later thirties, especially of his portrait style, which he perfected in this time. From the thirties one can follow the main line of Bronzino's evolution into his middle years with examples of continuing creative vitality, like the Allegories in Budapest and London.⁸ The modeling is simplified, the substances hard and abstracted like the colors; the contours are clear and important; and the compositions, now more complex than any before, are fitted together, so to speak, figure by figure, still following the picture plane, where Bronzino had found a special source of strength. It was only after these paintings, toward the fifties, that Bronzino entered finally into the period of mid-century Florentine academic mannerism, of which he was one of the founders.

There are, however, very early works by Bronzino dating from the twenties, when he was principally an assistant of Pontormo. Vasari, who was Bronzino's close friend, lists a number of them.⁹ Several have been known for a long time and are usually noted in accounts of Bronzino's career, but mention of them has generally been brief. Photographs of only two of the usually recognized early works have been published. Consequently, Bronzino's early attempts to master Pontormo's style are still obscure. Yet one might guess them to be important for an understanding of Bronzino's subsequent development, in which he took a direction that contrasts in many ways with Pontormo's during Bronzino's apprenticeship. The present study deals with Bronzino's earliest works, including several not attributed to him before, and with the new clues which they hold to the sources of his distinctive and influential style.

The origins of Bronzino's art have been traced almost entirely to Pontormo, to whom, as is well known, Bronzino was very close. Vasari says, in fact, that Bronzino learned Pontormo's manner and imitated his works so well for a time that their pictures were often confused even by their contemporaries.¹⁰ In 1522 during a plague in Florence Pontormo withdrew to the Certosa at Galuzzo to paint his frescoes in the cloister there. He took Bronzino with him as his only assistant,¹¹ and all the evidence suggests that Pontormo had no assistant or pupil other than Bronzino from this time on during the twenties (see Appendix 1). These were exactly the years of the most extraordinary changes in Pontormo's style. The Dürer-inspired frescoes at the Certosa¹² are followed shortly in 1525 by the astonishing *Supper at Emmaus*.¹³ Here, although seen in a context of angular, interrupted rhythms, the realism of the heads and tableware, the tenebrist lighting, even the spacing in atmospheric depth anticipate Caravaggio and his followers.¹⁴ This picture, in turn, gives little warning of the visionary lightness and endless interlace in the *Deposition at Santa Felicità*¹⁵ of around 1526-1528, where the composition, renouncing all normal standards of gravity and equi-

7. As often pointed out, the pose was apparently inspired by Michelangelo's Giuliano de' Medici from the Medici Tombs, on which Michelangelo finished working in 1534.

8. Cf. McComb, *op.cit.* pls. 20, 21, and Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pl. 131. For an explanation of the Allegories see Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, pp. 86ff.

9. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 270, 271, 275, 280; VII, p. 594.

10. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 593.

11. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 266. Vasari was in a position to know, since he used to visit the Certosa during Pontormo's stay there, to draw from Pontormo's frescoes, and at this time, as he says, he first "began to know and love" Bronzino (*ibid.*, VII, p. 605). Vasari's statement is supported by the fact that Clapp (*Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 44) found in the books of the Certosa no payment to an assistant other than Bronzino.

12. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, figs. 79-81; Becherucci, *Manieristi*, pls. 26-33; Giusta Nicco Fasola, *Pontormo o del cinquecento*, Florence, 1947, pls. 7-17.

13. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, fig. 82; Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pls. 35-37. Dated. According to Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 270) painted at the Certosa.

14. For the realism here cf. Roberto Longhi, "Un San Tomaso del Velázquez e le congiunture italo-spagnole tra il '5 e il '600," *Vita artistica*, II, 1927, p. 7; a review of this article by Friedrich Antal in *Kritische Berichte*, I, 1928-29, pp. 144ff.; and more recently Briganti, *Il Manierismo e Pellagrino Tibaldi*, Rome, 1945, pp. 34ff.

15. Cf. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, fig. 92; Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pls. 40-43.

librium, seems based on a slowly revolving cone of figures, which mount upward and sink softly down again while forever turning and changing behind, yet in touch with, the picture plane. The difficulties for an apprentice aspiring to the art of such a master are evident.

Vasari lists as Bronzino's earliest works "of any account" two disappointing lunettes (Figs. 1 and 2) at the Certosa on either side of the arch over the main entrance to the cloister.¹⁶ He gives nothing earlier. Yet these were done around 1522 to 1524, when Bronzino was already twenty,¹⁷ a mature age for a painter in the Renaissance. Although Vasari, as Bronzino's constant admirer, says of one of them that it "infinitely delighted Pontormo,"¹⁸ they have little or nothing of Pontormo in them.¹⁹ In the lunette which faces the cloister is the *Man of Sorrows with Two Angels* (Fig. 2). It is in fresco and now scarcely more than a ruin. Compared with Pontormo's work near by, this picture must always have been plain and orthodox. Its composition is symmetrical and flat, its stiff descriptiveness amounting to archaism at this date. The painting of *Saint Lawrence* (Fig. 1), done in oil on plaster in the lunette on the other side of the arch,²⁰ is the one which pleased Bronzino's master, perhaps because it departs from the relative stability and conventionality of the *Man of Sorrows*. Yet this picture is even less like Pontormo. Its note is one of vague, obvious emotion, and despite damage and restorations its awkwardness is surely original. Saint Lawrence's disturbing lack of solid contact with his grate is obvious.

It is not clear just when Bronzino became apprenticed to Pontormo. A date as early as a little after 1515 has been assumed on occasion. Yet from the two lunettes it is hard to believe that Bronzino had been with Pontormo so long, and in fact, what other evidence there is suggests that it was not before about 1519 that he became Pontormo's pupil (see Appendix 1). In any case, we are told that prior to coming to Pontormo, Bronzino had had two other masters. He had studied first for two years, according to Borghini,²¹ under a painter of "cose grosse," whose name is unknown, and then with Raffaellino del Garbo, to whom he went, as Vasari says,²² "to learn the principles of art." Scarcely any influence of Raffaellino on Bronzino has ever been noticed, nor, it seems, has the possibility really been explored.²³

16. Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 594 and also VI, p. 270. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584, p. 534, agrees with Vasari.

17. A. Furno (*Bronzino*, p. 39) settled the date of Bronzino's birth as November 19, 1503, on the basis of a document. In 1568, Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 604) describes Bronzino as sixty-five years old, which agrees with the recorded date.

18. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 270.

19. This has been remarked. Cf. especially Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 30 and McComb, *Bronzino*, p. 4.

20. Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 270) makes special mention of Bronzino's having done this figure "senza aver mai più veduto colorire a olio." In spite of Vasari's two accurate descriptions of the location of the *Saint Lawrence* (*ibid.*, VI, p. 270; VII, p. 594), Kusenbergh has mistakenly identified a little lunette of *Saint Lawrence* which is over a low door on the opposite side of the cloister as the one listed by Vasari for Bronzino. This error led Kusenbergh to attribute to Bronzino a drawing (Uffizi, no. 17819) which he saw to be a preliminary study for the little lunette. (Kurt Kusenbergh, "Agnolo Bronzino [1503-1572]—Study for a Figure of St. Lawrence—Florence, Uffizi—Red Chalk—21 x 36 cm.," *Old Master Drawings*, IV, 1929-30, p. 37. The drawing was formerly given to Rosso by Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, New York, 1903, II, p. 162, and Clapp, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, *Catalogue raisonné précédé d'une étude critique*, Paris, 1914, p. 288, but was recently accepted by Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, amplified edition, Chicago, 1938, II, p. 63, as Bronzino's on the basis of Kusenbergh's identification.) If it were Bronzino's, this drawing would be our earliest from his hand and of considerable importance for

the study of his development. Apart, however, from the false basis of the attribution, this sketch bears no relation to Bronzino's drawing style, as will appear below, and, in fact, the fresco itself seems to be part of the whole series of little lunettes which decorate the cell doors around the cloister and are unrelated to the work of Pontormo and Bronzino.

21. Borghini, *op.cit.*, p. 533.

22. Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 241 and also *Le Vite del Vasari nell' edizione del 1550 a cura di Corrado Ricci*, Milan, n.d., III, p. 63. Cf. also Borghini, *op.cit.*, p. 533. There is no source which tells how long Bronzino was with Raffaellino.

23. The possibility of Raffaellino's influence on Bronzino is considered by Goldschmidt (*Pontormo, Rosso, Bronzino*, p. 30) in his query made in connection with the Certosa lunettes: "... ist das noch verrinnendes Quattrocento von Raffaelinos Gnaden oder einfach Schülerhaftes Ungeschick?" and Schulze (*Bronzino*, p. 4) says, "... von dessen [i.e. Raffaellino's] Kunst aber wenig in seinen [i.e. Bronzino's] Werken zu verspüren ist, ausser einer ähnlichen Dehnung der Verhältnisse in den Figuren." Dr. Hermann Voss in an early article ("Über einige Gemälde und Zeichnungen von Meistern aus dem Kreise Michelangelos," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIV, 1913, pp. 310-311) assumes astutely from Goldschmidt that Bronzino's youthful development "einen ganz eigentümlichen Weg von fast quattrocentistischer Befangenheit der Zeichnung bis zu einer unbedingten Nachahmung des Lehrers Pontormo durchlaufen hat," but he sees "the naïveté" of the early works as caused by the study of Dürer. He does not bring up Raffaellino, either here or in his full treatment of Bronzino (*Malerei der Spätrenaissance*, p. 208). In fact, later Dr. Voss does not return to the possibility of any "quattrocentistische Befangenheit" but says that

Raffaellino del Garbo, if one follows Vasari,²⁴ had begun as the most promising assistant of Filippino Lippi, but his later career, as Vasari saw it, was one of continual decline. A good number of works survive from the catalogue given him by Vasari. To judge from these, Raffaellino was caught by the great transformation of art around 1500 and in searching for a successful new formula changed his manner at will, turning especially toward the still Quattrocentesque Umbrian style represented by Pintoricchio and Perugino. The changes in Raffaellino's manner were so marked that it has always been difficult to understand, as Vasari himself admitted, how his later works as listed by Vasari, could actually be his. That they are his, however, most critics of today agree.²⁵ But on occasion Raffaellino has been divided by scholars into two, three, and as many as four different painters,²⁶ and it is well known that the chief remaining divisionist, Mr. Berenson, although stating that he is not concerned with determining whether more than one flesh-and-blood painter is involved,²⁷ still separates Garbo into two "artistic personalities." For these he has kept two distinct names: Raffaellino del Garbo, for the earlier works in Vasari's catalogue, and Raffaele de' Carli, for the later. The second name is one which appears as a signature on two of the later pictures listed as Garbo's by Vasari²⁸ and occurs also in a document in connection with another late work on Vasari's list.²⁹ It may be added that its mere presence in these instances is not in itself sufficient to show that Garbo was not the painter, since there are documents which indicate Carli and Garbo to be two names for one man. For the present study of Bronzino, however, it seems wise not to start out with the Garbo-Carli question. If, as divisionists have thought, Vasari did actually confuse Garbo with a Raffaele de' Carli, he could then have confused them also in naming Bronzino's teacher, especially since his conception of Garbo was based chiefly on the so-called Carli works, which constitute most of his catalogue of Garbo's *oeuvre*. It seems important, therefore, to let Vasari's statements stand for the present and simply consider first whether there are any connections between works of Garbo, or of Carli, and Bronzino.

Bronzino's lunettes at the Certosa are not in condition for detailed comparisons. Yet there are works among those given by Vasari to Raffaellino which do show resemblances of a general nature to these earliest pictures of Bronzino. So much cannot be said for any Pontormo. The *Mass of Saint*

Bronzino stands "bereits in seinen ersten Arbeiten auf dem Boden der von der neuen Generation erstrebten Ideale. Von den Certosafresken an (1522) wird der 1503 geborene Künstler der getreue Mitarbeiter seines um ein knappes Jahrzehnt älteren Lehrers Pontormo." No one else has gone into the matter, except to deny Raffaellino's influence.

24. Vasari-Milanesi, IV, pp. 233ff. and Vasari 1550, ed. Ricci, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 61ff.

25. Cf. especially J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselli, *A History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1911, IV, pp. 298ff.; Hermann Ulmann, "Raffaellino del Garbo," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVII, 1894, pp. 90ff.; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, Milan, 1911, VII, I, p. 680; G. Gronau, "Raffaello de' Carli," in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*, 1911, V, p. 604; G. Gronau, "Raffaellino del Garbo," in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*, 1920, XIII, p. 170; Y. Y., in the *Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old and Modern Masters*, 2nd series, part VIII, 1927, pp. 5-6; Raïmond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian School of Painting*, The Hague, 1933, XII, pp. 416ff.; Alfred Scharf, "Die frühen Gemälde des Raffaellino del Garbo," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIV, 1933, pp. 151ff.; Katherine B. Neilson, *Filippino Lippi, A Critical Study*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 186ff. Neilson gives a clear summary of the problem.

26. Cf. especially Gaetano Milanesi in Vasari-Milanesi, IV, 1879, pp. 233-253; Giovanni Morelli, *Die italienischen Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden und Berlin*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 246; Giovanni Morelli, *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei*, Leipzig, 1891-93, I ("Die Galerie zu München und Dresden"), p. 338, II (Die Galerie

zu Berlin), p. 16; Gustavo Frizzoni, "La Quinta edizione del 'Cicerone' di Burckhardt," *Archivio storico dell' arte*, I, 1888, p. 292; Costanza Jocelyn Ffoulkes, "Le Esposizioni d'arte italiana a Londra," *Archivio storico dell' arte*, VII, 1894, p. 163; Julius Meyer, "Zur Geschichte der florentinischen Malerei des XV Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XI, 1890, p. 26; G. B. Vittadini, "Novità artistiche del Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milano," *Archivio storico dell' arte*, 2nd series, I, 1895, pp. 202-210; Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, 8th ed., Berlin, 1901, III, p. 657; Carlo Gamba, "Dipinti ignoti di Raffaello Carli," *Rassegna d'arte*, VII, 1907, p. 104; Heinrich Bodmer, in *Old Master Drawings*, IV, 1929-30, p. 36; Bernhard Berenson, *Drawings*, 1903, I, pp. 80-100; *idem*, *The Florentine Painters*, New York, 1909, pp. 126ff., 135ff.; *idem*, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 476-479; *idem*, *Pittura italiana del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1936, pp. 409-411; *idem*, *Drawings*, 1938, I, pp. 103-123.

27. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, I, p. 107.

28. *Madonna and Saints*, Ringling Collection, Sarasota, Florida; from Santo Spirito, Florence; signed and dated 1501 (Fig. 16). Cf. also Carlo Gamba, *op.cit.*, fig. on p. 104. *Madonna and Saints*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; from Santo Spirito, Florence; signed and dated 1502. Cf. Neilson, *Filippino Lippi*, fig. 99 or Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 283.

29. Fresco of the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* in the Cestello, 1503. Cf. C. de Fabriczy, "Memorie sulla chiesa di S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi a Firenze e sulla Badia di S. Salvatore a Settimo," *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 260.

Gregory at Sarasota (Fig. 16), which carries a Carli signature and date and was in Santo Spirito at Florence, is one of these. It was cited by Vasari as showing Raffaellino's change of manner and decline and is in the Umbrianizing vein of a number of the later pictures in Vasari's list. When the Sarasota altarpiece is seen in connection with the *Saint Lawrence* at the Certosa (Fig. 1), its Umbrian nude with curving lower limb, the profiles of Saint Gregory and his two assistants, and the flat emotion in their faces seem somewhat echoed by Bronzino, together with the kind of putto and palm that the Raffaellino of either early or late styles might use, but not Pontormo.³⁰ It is as if, in an effort to produce an emotional figure in keeping with Pontormo's taste, Bronzino could find his solution only in an Umbrianizing mode to which an earlier training had accustomed him. But the instability of the *Saint Lawrence* is not really like Raffaellino, or Carli, or Bronzino's own matter-of-fact balance in the *Man of Sorrows* of the other lunette (Fig. 2). Apparently in trying for an effect of spirituality, liberated like Pontormo's from old standards of naturalness, Bronzino was capable only of this unsatisfactory result—a reflection perhaps of the unsettling impact of Pontormo's style upon him.

The *Man of Sorrows* is obviously without such expressionist pretensions. At the same time, it is in a manner outmoded by the High Renaissance. As it happens, in almost any picture of the Garbo-Carli oeuvre, but especially in the later ones, like the signed Carli *Madonna and Saints* in Washington,³¹ one can find general parallels for its obvious symmetry, simplified modeling, Quattrocento stiffness, and simple juxtaposition of figures in more or less two-dimensional arrangement close to the picture plane. Merely on the basis of his first works it would appear that Bronzino had grown up in some way outside of, and oblivious to, the main stream of Cinquecento painting in Florence. He has none of the new three-dimensional pliancy and movement or the mingling forms which enrich and unify the compositions of High Renaissance artists. His training seems instead to date from an older tradition, one still rooted in the late fifteenth century. In the *Man of Sorrows* we have in all probability our clearest index to Bronzino's style as it was in the beginning, before Pontormo's influence began to take effect. No other works of Bronzino from so early a moment are known.³²

Bronzino had made greater strides in Pontormo's style when, as Vasari and Borghini relate, he helped his master about three years later with the ceiling frescoes and the Evangelists in the Capponi Chapel at Santa Felicita in Florence.³³ The ceiling frescoes are destroyed, and the Evangelists (Figs. 4, 5, 8, and 9), which were painted on round panels and set into the pendentives of the vaulting, had apparently not been seen closely until they were removed for cleaning and repairs about eleven years ago. Before the cleaning and in the darkness of the chapel Bronzino's part could only be guessed at.³⁴ In his Life of Pontormo, Vasari says that Bronzino did one of the Evangelists.³⁵

30. Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 265) says that after the fresco at Poggio a Caiano, Jacopo did a *Saint Augustine Giving his Benediction*, with two beautiful nude putti flying in the air. Bronzino may have had these in mind when he painted his, but Pontormo's must have been closer to the child on the pedestal in the National Gallery's *Joseph in Egypt* or the nude children on the wall in the lunette at Poggio than to Bronzino's over-sweet version.

31. Cf. Neilson, *op.cit.*, fig. 99; Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 283. Cf. note 28 above.

32. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 113, found documents showing that Bronzino also decorated service books for the monks at the Certosa which are now lost. Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 280) mentions a crucifix done by Bronzino while he was at the Certosa; it has not been satisfactorily identified.

33. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 271 and VII, p. 594; Borghini, *op.cit.*, p. 534. There is general agreement that Pontormo's activity in the Capponi Chapel belongs to the years 1526-1528. For the evidence see Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 47 and also p. 44.

34. The present labeling of the Evangelists follows that of the recent exhibition in Florence at which they were shown. Cf. note 36 below. It has varied from this in the past.

Never more than one evangelist has been given to Bronzino. Schulze (*Bronzino*, p. 5 n. 4, and p. ix) assigned him the one identifiable now by his symbol as *Saint Luke* (Fig. 9). Goldschmidt (*Pontormo, Rosso, Bronzino*, pp. 45 and 53) gave him one which he designated as *Saint John* but did not describe, so that it cannot be said whether he meant the Evangelist known recently as *John* (Fig. 5). Schaeffer ("Bronzino," in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*, V, 1911, pp. 60ff.) gave Bronzino one Evangelist but did not say which. Clapp (*Pontormo's Life and Work*, pp. 122-123) pointed to the difficulty of making distinctions of touch in the darkness of the chapel, but suggested that the tondo "over the pillar" showed traces of Bronzino's hand. This seems to have been the Evangelist now identified as *Saint Mark* (Fig. 8). McComb (*Bronzino*, pp. 5 and 52) found it impossible to be sure of the division between Bronzino and Pontormo because of the bad light but attributed to Bronzino the *Saint Luke* (Fig. 9), which he knew as *Saint John*.

Since the cleaning the authors of the catalogue of the recent exhibition in Florence in which the tondi were shown have given the *Saint Mark* to Bronzino and the other three Evangelists to Pontormo.³⁶

The tondo with *Saint Matthew* (Fig. 4) is very largely a restoration, as shown by the cross-hatching which marks the recently restored areas. Yet remaining bits of the original surface in the hand, chest, and face of the Evangelist and in the upper end of the purple drapery still show a fluid, swift touch, rich yet delicate and soft, with tiny strokes brushed lightly in many directions; and this touch is entirely characteristic of Pontormo.³⁷ Just as characteristic of him, as comparison with the *Deposition* will show, are the subtly varied contours of the chest and further arm, the familiar tapering wrist, the wide, even oval of the face, the full lips and nearly round eyes. The mood of the Evangelist is peculiarly Pontormo's and is conveyed especially by these eyes, preoccupied and staring distantly in subdued pain and wonder. A preparatory drawing for this tondo, always attributed to Pontormo, is in the British Museum.³⁸ The correspondence in design between painting and drawing is close. From the scanty remains of the picture there seems no reason to doubt that Pontormo himself was mainly responsible for carrying out the design in the finished work.³⁹

The tondo of the Evangelist *Saint John* (Fig. 5) is most strikingly Pontormesque. Its condition is good, and it shows throughout his fresh touch and decisive modeling, as in the eye and nose. One part flows into the next, suggesting swift, continuous movement, a collected movement that holds its place in the tondo. Details from the *Deposition*⁴⁰ show the same fluidity and surfaces which flicker with a similar life from the same feathery stroke. Pontormo is at his best in this vision of Saint John, conceived as a figure of dignity and force, moved by restless vigor, and filled with questioning melancholy as he ponders upon what he sees.

By contrast the *Saint Mark* (Fig. 8) is motionless, leaden, and disjointed. Seen in the original, the brushstroke is correspondingly different from Pontormo: it is mainly slow and coarse, sometimes pasty as in the arm or inarticulate and blotchy in the neck, where the attempt is to be painterly; and on the other hand, it can be dense and regular as in the collar, where it is clearly like passages to be found in later paintings by Bronzino.⁴¹ In the hair and beard Pontormo's free, suggestive manner is used rather faithfully, except for an undisciplined touch and wooliness in texture. Under-

35. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 271, followed by Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 483 and Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine, divise nei suoi quartieri, opera di Giuseppe Richa della Compagnia di Gesù*, Florence, 1754-62, VI, p. 312.

36. Catalogue, *Mostra di opere d'arte trasportate a Firenze durante la guerra e di opere d'arte restaurate*, Florence, 1947, p. 50. All four Evangelists were shown in this exhibition. The catalogue describes the restorations.

Becherucci (*Manieristi*, p. 43), writing since the cleaning, gives Bronzino one Evangelist, which she designates in her book as *Saint John*. From her brief description in the text and from my conversation with her in the summer of 1947, I judge she had in mind the Evangelist now called *Saint Mark* (Fig. 8). In this case, she is the first since the cleaning to publish an attribution of the *Saint Mark* to Bronzino, although she was preceded in this before the cleaning by Clapp (cf. note 34).

In Fasola's recent book on Pontormo (Guista Nicco Fasola, *Pontormo o del cinquecento*, Florence, 1947, pp. 47-48) no mention of Bronzino's part in the work is made. *Saints Mark, Luke, and John* are all reproduced (pls. 21-23) as by Pontormo; the *Matthew* is not reproduced or mentioned.

37. Cf. any areas of the *Deposition* at Santa Felicita.

38. Payne Knight Collection, Pp. 2, 102. Clapp, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 295, identified this drawing as a sketch for the Evangelist tondo (see also Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, pp. 49 and 123; Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 300, number 2253A). I am indebted to Mr. Philip Pouncey of the British Museum for a photograph of this drawing, which I have not seen in the original. He writes that

there has never been any doubt that this drawing is by Pontormo.

39. The recent restorer of the tondo of *Saint Matthew* did find under the surviving original surface a still earlier version from which the final painting varies slightly. The eyes of the Evangelist, for example, were once higher. In the account of the restoration in the catalogue (cf. note 36) the lower layer is considered to be a sketch by the same hand as the finished picture. As will develop in this article there is a painting of about this date where it seems clear that Pontormo painted a correction over Bronzino's version of a head, resulting, as it happens, in a rather similar difference in the position of the eyes in the upper and lower versions. There is the possibility that this might have happened here, for a suggestion that Bronzino may have done some work on this tondo is given by the head of Saint Matthew's angel. There is too little of it left to be sure of a real difference in touch, but the sculptured, explicitly three-dimensional upper lids of the eyes are characteristic of early Bronzino, as will appear. This feature and the wide expanse of dry, white eyeball, the sharp drawing of the iris on it and the empty upturned gaze which results (all more like Bronzino's early painting than Pontormo's) suggest that the angel might have been Bronzino's work left relatively untouched by Pontormo when reworking the rest of the picture.

40. Cf. Becherucci, *Manieristi*, pl. 42; Roger Hinks, "Mannerism," *The Arts*, No. 2, 1947, pl. III, opposite p. 6.

41. Compare the brushstroke in the collar of the Virgin in the Panciatichi *Holy Family* in the Uffizi.

neath, the surface of the face seems to be heavy and smooth, although on top in the highlight is a film of paint which may have been brushed there to give some of Pontormo's painterly fusion. A drawing in Besançon (Fig. 6), which Mr. Popham was the first to identify as Pontormo's and which Mr. Berenson connected with this tondo,⁴² shows Pontormo's original idea for the *Saint Mark*. With Bronzino, Pontormo's idea loses its swiftness and integration. The parts tend to separate, as with the drapery, which in the painting seems inserted over the shoulders, hovering there without making contact. For his changes in position Bronzino apparently followed in reverse another drawing by Pontormo (Fig. 7), first connected with the tondi of Santa Felicità by Mr. Berenson and Mr. Clapp,⁴³ which is quiet but filled with an unmistakable rhythmic flow that escapes Bronzino. Bronzino's figure is caught in a kind of arrested lurch, coming from behind the ledge toward the picture plane, to which it thus presents an awkward, unpleasant relation. Bronzino misses the vigor of Pontormo's first conception and substitutes a comparatively empty placidity for the unquiet mood of the second. The face of Bronzino's saint is not only more earthly but shows already a little of the elegance and polish of Bronzino's later religious figures, like those in the *Nativity* at Budapest, or the *Joseph* in the *Vienna Holy Family*.⁴⁴

It is clear that in the tondo of *Saint Mark* Bronzino is not at home in Pontormo's style. His feeling for reality seems too material and literal for him to follow Pontormo's imaginative inventions and anticlassical expressiveness without lapsing into awkwardness, as he had with the figure of Saint Lawrence.⁴⁵ In some details, such as the eyes, he does show something of Pontormo's manner, but without his result. On the other hand, for its general tenor Bronzino's Evangelist bears comparison once more with work given by Vasari to Raffaellino del Garbo; for example, with the saints at the left of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Louvre (Fig. 20b),⁴⁶ attributed to Carli by divisionists, or with the Saint John the Baptist in a painting in the Uffizi (Fig. 20a), which has been connected in style with the later pictures in Vasari's list of Raffaellino's work.⁴⁷ Not only the general languid tenor of Bronzino's Evangelist but the shape of the face and certain of its features (the nose, the mouth, the plain curve of the forehead above the brows) are reminiscent of the figures in the Louvre picture. There is perhaps even a reflection of their thick wrists and veined hands.

The tondo of *Saint Luke* (Fig. 9) is more controlled than the *Mark*. In some respects it is more Pontormesque, but fundamentally it is just as far from Pontormo. Compared to the urgency and alertness of the *Saint John* (Fig. 5), the *Saint Luke* is relaxed and his face vacant, so that the pose seems an affectation. In spite of the involved drapery the composition is static. Both Schulze and McComb, who knew the tondi only in the chapel before the cleaning and judged their general effect, gave this Evangelist to Bronzino and not the *Saint Mark*. Lacking Pontormo's pale color and delicate, subtle complication, the folds are heavy and dull, without surprises and without life. Pontormo's verve is missing in the contours, yet the approach appears basically more linear, just

42. Besançon Museum, no. D. 1511. Cf. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 273.

43. Uffizi no. 6674. Cf. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1903, II, p. 140; *idem*, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 292; Clapp, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 224.

Berenson (*Drawings*, 1903, II, p. 148 and *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 290) proposed that Uffizi drawing no. 6647^r might also be a study for one of the Evangelists in Santa Felicità. Clapp (*Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 203) saw no relation with the tondi, at least in their final form, and suggested rightly that it was in any case earlier in date (cf. Appendix I for the dating of this drawing about 1520 or earlier).

44. Cf. McComb, *Bronzino*, pl. 7 and Sir Claude Phillips, "An Unknown Bronzino," *Burlington Magazine*, XXVI, 1914, p. 5, pl. II. For similarities in detail to later Bronzinos compare, for example, the nose of Saint Mark, especially as to its bridge, tip, and nostril, to the signed Faudel-Phillips *Madonna*

published in the above article (*ibid.*, p. 2, pl. 1) and now in the National Gallery, London.

45. Pontormo was capable by this time of a new and forceful realism, as the *Supper at Emmaus* of 1525 shows, but the jagged, agitated rhythmic life of this picture, not to mention the expressive distortions of form, results in an effect far from literal. Bronzino's tondo recalls somewhat Pontormo's *Emmaus*, especially in its angular pose and Caravaggesque lighting. This is not surprising, as Bronzino was working on his Evangelist within one or two years after the *Emmaus*.

46. Mentioned by Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 238). Cf. Neilson, *Filippino Lippi*, fig. 100.

47. Cf. Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 286 and Carlo Gamba, "Dipinti ignoti di Raffaello Carli," *Rassegna d'arte*, VII, 1907, pp. 104ff. and fig. on p. 106. Gamba, who agrees with those who divide Vasari's Raffaellino del Garbo into Garbo and Carli, gives the picture to Carli.

because the line is tighter and less free.⁴⁸ Compared to Pontormo's handling in a corresponding pose,⁴⁹ the neck and jaw of *Saint Luke* are unsure. The fleshless mouth, the nose, the rounded forehead, and wide, dry eyes are unparalleled in Pontormo. Yet these traits, although occurring here in Pontormesque disguise, can be recognized again in works of Bronzino.⁵⁰ When seen in detail, the brushwork tends to be heavy and blotchy as in the *Saint Mark*. But there, some effort was made to give painterly richness to the texture of the skin, while now the surface in such places is harder and less evocative of flesh.⁵¹ The smooth pastiness of the face points toward the dense and hardened doughiness which Bronzino produced in some of his later paintings, for example, the early *Panciatichi Holy Family*. The remains of the lunettes at the Certosa suggest that this new tendency is only a reassertion of Bronzino's earlier habits of modeling.

Although in his *Life of Pontormo*, Vasari gave Bronzino only one tondo, in the *Life of Bronzino*, where he sets out in earnest to list his works, he gives him two.⁵² This seems to be the second, and, with its greater competence, probably the later one. Vasari indicates that Pontormo's work for the Capponi Chapel took three years,⁵³ and hence there could have been some lapse of time between Bronzino's *Saint Mark* and *Saint Luke*. Yet Bronzino had ahead still a long ascent to his subsequent mastery. Since he was now about twenty-four, it is clear that his development was slow, so slow that it is tempting to explain it by the impact of Pontormo's style upon him, which could have been great enough to stagger and retard him. With the Evangelist *Luke*, however, some of Bronzino's own positive characteristics do begin to emerge, and from it one can look forward for the first time to his work in the thirties. Besides his change in texture and tightening of contours, Bronzino has begun to revert to the more conventional stability with which he began and was soon to reaffirm so strongly. Already the upright compositional structure of the portraits in the thirties can be sensed, with the hands characteristically pressing forward of the figure. If one of the Evangelists is Bronzino's in conception in addition to execution, as Vasari's words in the *Life of Pontormo* seem to imply,⁵⁴ this one is the most likely.⁵⁵

The picture of *Saint Luke* was made, nevertheless, to be a Pontormesque work and sustain a Pontormesque emotion, and the emptiness of the result signifies Bronzino's sterile position in relation to his master. Like generations of artists before him, he was working in his master's style, yet in this instance it was a style entirely personal with Pontormo, very loose in its relation to nature, and, at the same time, quite different from anything Bronzino would have evolved himself. His role at the moment, therefore, is in a quite literal sense that of "mannerist." In the thirties he was to escape almost entirely from the dangers of this position, only falling prey to them again in the later stages of his career. Meanwhile, it is interesting to observe that even as the posturing of *Saint Luke* carries one forward to works of Bronzino's later career, it is at the same time reminiscent of the artificiality pervading much of the Garbo-Carli *oeuvre*. With Vasari's Raffaellino as his

48. As in the *Saint Mark*, there is also still the tendency to stiff construction, for example in the folds of the sleeve.

49. Cf. O. H. Giglioli, "Disegni sconosciuti di Filippino Lippi e del Pontormo," *Dedalo*, VII, 1927, pp. 777 and 782 (illustration).

50. Compare, for instance, the perfunctory joining of the nose to the face and the shape of the nostril in the Virgin (cf. Becherucci, *Manieristi*, pl. 127) or Christ Child of the *Panciatichi Holy Family* (a picture of the thirties, according to Vasari), or the foreheads of similar rounded form and simplified modeling. Eyes like *Saint Luke's* appear from time to time in the course of Bronzino's career, and somewhat similar eyes occur in the Badia fresco (Fig. 3).

51. For areas showing a fibrous texture as in parts of *Saint Luke's* face, for similar confused little welters of strokes and final dense doughy effect, compare the face of *Saint Joseph* in the *Panciatichi Holy Family*. Comparable textures are clear in the Faudel-Phillips *Holy Family* at the National Gallery,

London. In parts of the Evangelist's draperies the handling is quickened to approach Pontormo's feathery touch, and the saint's hair, although more ordered now in rhythm and arrangement, is painted freely like *Saint Mark's*. The mane of the bull at right is similarly free and painted with a brush so wide that one can clearly see the welter of its pattern of flat fibrous touches. Among these, over the brow, is a ragged series of little scythe-shaped strokes of a kind that occurs sometimes in Bronzino's work. As much as any such thing can be, it seems a mark of his hand.

52. Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 594; also Borghini, *op.cit.*, p. 534.

53. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 271.

54. *Loc.cit.*

55. The perfunctory placing of the bull, with its face hidden behind the Evangelist and its identity all but lost, is a pronounced instance of the unrelated inserting of forms which was rather characteristic of Bronzino, as will appear.

teacher, Bronzino would already have been accustomed to this sort of thing and conditioned, it may be added, to the self-conscious imitation of others' styles.

The next early work listed by Vasari⁵⁶ is a fresco of *Saint Benedict Tempted in the Wilderness* in the upper cloister of the Badia in Florence. It is surprising to come upon this fresco here, for it is the only sixteenth century work in an otherwise fifteenth century cycle of frescoes around the cloister. The records of the Badia⁵⁷ show that a "Raffaello di Bartolommeo di Giovanni dipintore"—who is in all probability Raffaele di Bartolommeo di Giovanni di Carlo⁵⁸ and hence the painter of most of the works listed by Vasari in the name of Garbo—was a tenant at the Badia from 1513-1517.⁵⁹ By any calculation Bronzino must have been with the teacher whom Vasari called Raffaelino del Garbo during part of this very period.⁶⁰ If Bronzino's teacher and Carli are one, Bronzino was well known at the Badia, and this early connection could then account for his getting his first independent commission for this isolated work here a few years later.⁶¹ Vasari called the fresco a "bonissima pittura." All Bronzino scholars have known it but have mentioned it only in passing as a ruin. None of them was aware that what appears on the wall are lower layers of paint left behind when the fresco was removed during the nineteenth century. The quite exciting fact is that this fresco, transferred to canvas, still exists (Fig. 3).⁶²

The original picture, stored now in the Convent of San Salvi, is a fascinating work. The landscape with its rugged, natural-looking rocks in the foreground is extraordinary for its time, without precedent in Pontormo or even in the famous landscape scenes of Pontormo's teacher, Andrea del Sarto. Bronzino's setting shows instead a remarkably naturalistic approach, reminiscent of Dürer's water colors, such as those of the first Italian journey, and is significant, one feels, of Bronzino's leanings towards landscape and his latent talent in painting.⁶³

It is clear from this fresco that in spite of some influence of Pontormo, the young Bronzino, working independently, is really different from Pontormo and not simply derivative, as has often been asserted. Indeed, this view is belied even by his later works.⁶⁴ At the left, Saint Benedict rolls in thorns to drive away temptation. This nude is like an apparition in the landscape. It is light in tone, almost without interior modeling, like later Bronzinos, and its contours are insistent. The pose of the figure and the facial expression obviously reflect Pontormo, as in studies for Poggio a Caiano,⁶⁵

56. Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 594. See also Borghini, *op.cit.*, p. 534.

57. Cf. Milanesi's note in Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 234.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

59. Documents mention Raffaellino del Garbo as being in the Via del Garbo in 1499, 1503, and 1505 (*ibid.*, p. 234). The Badia is on the present Via Condotta, which in one part was once called the Via del Garbo but apparently was never called Via del Garbo in the part near the Badia (Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, I, p. 118). If the Raffaello who was the tenant at the Badia from 1513 to 1517 was Raffaello del Garbo, he would then have moved from the Via del Garbo sometime after 1505.

60. Cf. above and Appendix 1.

61. Schulze's (*Bronzino*, p. 5) suggestion that this commission was given to Bronzino because of the fame he had gained as Pontormo's helper seems less likely, since he had apparently done nothing worthy of fame when this fresco was painted. As will appear, it is perhaps even earlier than the Evangelists of Santa Felicita. If, however, Bronzino was known at the Badia from an earlier apprenticeship served there, he might even have asked to be allowed to fill the compartment, which for some reason was available in the midst of the fifteenth century cycle of the *Life of Saint Benedict*.

62. I learned in Florence of the existence of this fresco from Dr. Ugo Procacci, who recently mentioned it in his *Catalogo della mostra di opere d'arte restaurate*, Florence, 1946, pp. 15-16. The method of the removal of the fresco from the wall is described here. Goldschmidt, whose book (*Pontormo, Rosso, Bronzino*) appeared in 1911, says (p. 52) that

the monks told him that what remained of the fresco on the wall was only a copy and that the original fresco had been sold and sent to France. This story certainly grew up as the result of the removal of the fresco in the nineteenth century. Goldschmidt understandably dismissed the whole tale as fiction ("wohl aus dem schlechten Zustand entstandene Fabel").

63. A. Schaeffer, ("Die Landschaften der Wiener Gemälde Galerie," *Jahrbuch der Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XII, 1891, p. 236) early called attention to realism in his landscapes. Bronzino had a flair for landscape (cf. the Budapest *Nativity*) which might have flourished more but for the new Florentine taste. Moreover, as shown by later pictures like the Panciatichi *Holy Family* in the Uffizi or the Faudel-Phillips *Madonna* in the National Gallery, London, his handling of landscape elements is much more swift and fluid than his habitual treatment of figures, a warning that Bronzino's abilities became more varied and complex than may at first appear.

64. In her analysis of Bronzino's style, Becherucci (*Manieristi*, pp. 42ff.) emphasizes even more clearly than has been done before Bronzino's great difference from, and reaction against, Pontormo, but this remains rather difficult to understand if Pontormo is considered the only, or even the principal, formative influence upon Bronzino. Max Dvôrák (*Geschichte der italienischen Kunst in Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Munich, 1927, II, pp. 172ff.) has suggested well the great difference between the final goal of Bronzino's art and Pontormo's. See also Schultz, *Bronzino*, pp. 16ff., and Tinti, *Bronzino*.

65. Cf. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, figs. 57-60.

and this time Bronzino achieves an expression which is not so empty; it is simply less urgent and more ambiguous than Pontormo's. The ambiguity seems increased by the figure's hovering, uncertain relation to the ground. The spreading pose has a curious arrested quality, unlike Pontormo. Like the *Saint Mark*, this figure, too, leans awkwardly forward, disturbing its relation to the picture plane, especially by its protruding arms;⁶⁶ and this again is in contrast to Pontormo's handling, as, for example, in the figure with a similar pose at Poggio a Caiano, which is in harmony with the decorative surface.⁶⁷ On the present occasion the peculiarities of Bronzino's *Saint Benedict* seem welcome for their contribution to the bizarre, haunting effect. Yet this figure shows once more that in his early years Bronzino was hardly masterly in adopting Pontormo's inventions. In fact, fascinating as it is, the odd, primitive quality here is one of several evidences that the Badia fresco may still be a little earlier than the Evangelists of Santa Felicita, in spite of its place after them in Vasari's account.

At the right of the fresco Saint Benedict is seen in an earlier moment, distracted by temptation in the form of a raven. This figure, which is sharply separated by its silhouette from the background, shows a manner hardly derivable at all from Pontormo. The difference is especially evident in the face and head. Bronzino indulges here in his later predilection for hard, smooth modeling, which it is difficult to imagine him developing simply on his own in the midst of training with Pontormo. Like the type of the figure itself it appears to be traceable again to works of Vasari's Raffaellino, especially to the later works in the Carli style. One can compare the Saint Bernard in the *Madonna and Saints* in Santo Spirito, Florence,⁶⁸ or the Virgin (Fig. 18) of the *Annunciation* in San Francesco at Fiesole, which Mr. Berenson, to keep distinct both a Carli and a Garbo, has found it necessary to attribute to Garbo with the help of Carli.⁶⁹

In this second portrayal of Saint Benedict, Bronzino already foreshadows his later effective handling of dark forms with sharp, tense contours seen in broad silhouette against a lighter background, as in portraits of the thirties. For this and even for the drapery, with its fluid but decisive play of dark and light (also to appear again in his work of the thirties), Bronzino seems once more to hark back to a mode used in pictures connected by Vasari with Raffaellino, as in the figures at the right of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Louvre.⁷⁰ Even the compositional method of Bronzino in the Badia fresco could have been acquired less easily from Pontormo than, for example, from the painter of the Uffizi *Resurrection*,⁷¹ with its stiff and unrelated figures close in the foreground. And certainly in the *Resurrection*, always accepted as Garbo's, or in the Louvre *Coronation* (in Vasari's list of Garbo's works⁷² but given by Mr. Berenson to Carli in a Garbo-like moment),⁷³ the moods of the figures, the posturing gazes, the hard competence of the forms, their dense substance, and their often clear and simple silhouettes⁷⁴ provide a more convincing basis for Bronzino's early art than Pontormo's style, although Pontormo's influence increases and becomes consciously dominant in the work of the younger man. In spite of the remarkable landscape in the Badia fresco, which in its total effect can owe little to any Florentine predecessor,⁷⁵ the earlier basis of Bronzino's style is clearer here than at any other time except in the lunettes at the Certosa; and this would

66. This might indicate that Bronzino was working from a model in sculpture, as Pontormo sometimes did (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 287).

67. Cf. Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pl. 17. For a description of Pontormo's decorative sense for wall painting see Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 59.

68. Vasari-Milanesi (IV, p. 237) mentions a painting of *Saint Bernard* by Raffaellino del Garbo in Santo Spirito, and this is generally assumed to be the picture he had in mind.

69. Cf. Bernhard Berenson, *Pittura italiana del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1936, p. 411; Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 291.

70. Cf. Neilson, *Filippino Lippi*, fig. 100; cf. Becherucci (*op.cit.*, p. 44) on the use of light in the portrait of the *Man with the Lute*, Uffizi, Florence.

71. Cf. Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 288. Listed by Vasari as Garbo's in both editions (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 235 and Vasari 1550, ed. Ricci, III, p. 62).

72. Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 238.

73. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, I, p. 116.

74. As compared to Pontormo's rippling, complex ones.

75. The soft mountains on the horizon remind one a little of the landscape in the *Pietà* in Munich (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 287), always given to Garbo, since it is listed as his in the Codice Magliabecchiano (Carl Frey, *Il Codice Magliabecchiano*, Berlin, 1892, p. 107) as well as by Vasari, but they are certainly not peculiar to Garbo in the late fifteenth century.

seem to speak for an early date—after the lunettes, as Vasari says, but perhaps before the Evangelists. A likely time would be late 1525 or 1526, following the sojourn at the Certosa.

From what we have seen it appears altogether likely that Bronzino did “learn the principles of art,” as Vasari says, from a painter very like Vasari’s Raffaellino. To be sure, there is more connection with the later work catalogued by Vasari as Raffaellino’s, that is with the Carli works, than with the earlier. This is the manner with which Bronzino would naturally have been more familiar, as the student of Vasari’s Raffaellino in the latter’s later years.⁷⁶ There is no other style in early sixteenth century Florence with which Bronzino’s first pictures show such close relations. Since Vasari could have confused Garbo with a certain Carli in speaking of Bronzino’s teacher if he had actually done so in his account of Garbo (and since even in Mr. Berenson’s view Garbo and Carli are so close that he considers the latter to have come under the influence of the former and is impelled to speak of a collaboration between the two), it is probably not of crucial importance for understanding Bronzino’s beginnings which side one takes on the Garbo-Carli problem. In general, Vasari’s statement about Bronzino’s training under the painter of most of the works which he describes as Garbo’s appears to hold true.

Much has now been written, however, to affirm that Garbo and Carli are one, and even Mr. Berenson expressly says that he will not deny the possibility.⁷⁷ Actually, the weight of evidence from documents, from Vasari, and from the detailed peculiarities of style is so in favor of this conclusion that it seems inescapable (see Appendix II). In broad view, moreover, the works of both Garbo and Carli manners form a significant unity. They both move away from the sensitive emotion and fluid, rhythmic cohesion of Filippino Lippi’s art toward tightness, additive compositions, and ultimate emptiness. Both the *Resurrection*, universally given to Garbo, and the *Madonna and Saints* of the Uffizi (Fig. 13), called Carli by divisionists, are compilations of separately conceived figures, subject to the same canon of slick, heavy-lidded beauty and arranged mainly for surface effect. However decoratively impressive, they are cold and artificial. The competence they show is already academic.

The Garbo-Carli *oeuvre* stands, in fact, in much the same relation to Lippi and his generation as Bronzino’s later work does to Pontormo. For the subject that engages us, this is significant. In the atmosphere of artistic self-consciousness in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century, the kind of academicism which Raffaellino best represents became established enough in the city to touch a number of its painters—even Raphael when he was there. Although pressed into the background by the High Renaissance, it could find its way unnoticed from Raffaellino to Bronzino. And as we know, in the lofty position Bronzino reached during his later career he became one who spread the academic spirit, through his art and as a founder of the Florentine Academy.

As for Bronzino’s approach in his early pictures, under Pontormo’s tutelage, it is really seen to be antipathetic to Pontormo’s by training and by nature,⁷⁸ however much his famous affectionate and submissive character may have led him to try to please Pontormo, as Vasari says, by “imitating his things.”⁷⁹ The Evangelists prove him in these years only superficially Pontormesque, even when trying his hardest and aided by Pontormo’s drawings. It is not surprising that Bronzino’s later career, although influenced indelibly by Pontormo, consistently shows deep, fundamental differences from this master. In fact, as will be mentioned again, the paintings which follow the earliest works dealt with in this article bear witness to a definite reaction against Pontormo’s imaginative departures from nature, in an effort to get his feet once more upon solid ground. As already intimated by the tondo of *Saint Luke*, he will seek a new stability, and he will turn also in the direction

76. “Overcome by infirmity and poverty” Raffaellino had died in 1524, according to Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 241; Vasari 1550, ed. Ricci, III, p. 62), and Bronzino would then have left him for Pontormo only a few years earlier, about 1519 (see Appendix I).

77. Cf. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, I, p. 107.

78. Becherucci (*Manieristi*, p. 42) has recently stressed “the profound difference of Bronzino’s temperament from Pontormo’s.”

79. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 6.



FIG. 1. Bronzino, *Saint Lawrence*. Florence (vicinity), Certosa at Galuzzo



FIG. 2. Bronzino, *Man of Sorrows with Two Angels*. Florence (vicinity), Certosa at Galuzzo



FIG. 3. Bronzino, *Saint Benedict Tempted in the Wilderness*. Florence, Convent of San Salvi (formerly Badia)



FIG. 4. Pontormo, *Saint Matthew*. Florence, Santa Felicita



FIG. 5. Pontormo, *Saint John the Evangelist*. Florence, Santa Felicita



FIG. 6. Pontormo, Drawing. Besançon, Museum (D 1511)



FIG. 7. Pontormo, Drawing. Florence, Uffizi (6674)



FIG. 8. Bronzino, *Saint Mark*. Florence, Santa Felicita



FIG. 9. Bronzino, *Saint Luke*. Florence, Santa Felicita



FIG. 10. Bronzino, Drawing. Florence, Uffizi (6552)



FIG. 11. Bronzino, Drawing. Florence, Uffizi (6552^v)



FIG. 12. Bronzino, *Holy Family*. Washington, National Gallery of Art



FIG. 13. Raffaellino del Garbo, *Madonna and Saints*. Florence, Uffizi



FIG. 14. Pontormo, Detail of Figure 12



FIG. 15. Pontormo, Drawing. Florence, Uffizi (6729v)

of more faithful representation in keeping with the tendency to objectivity glimpsed in the first pictures.

At this point, without at present following any further Vasari's list of works done by Bronzino in the twenties, I should like to introduce two drawings and two paintings which have never been connected by critics with Bronzino's activity. First, however, before turning to the drawings it should be recalled that there are two studies in Berenson's and McComb's lists of drawings by Bronzino which, because of their specific connection with universally accepted works, can be considered surely his. Both are in the Uffizi and both in black chalk.⁸⁰ One is the preparatory sketch for the *Christ Child* in the signed Panciatichi *Holy Family*⁸¹ and hence is fairly early in Bronzino's career. Bronzino's technique here is rather gentle and tentative, in keeping with his medium, which has the effect of soft pencil. Despite a little delicate complication in the drapery, the main contour of the figure is without the calligraphic animation of Pontormo's line. It is slow, corrected, and reinforced, but it is, nevertheless, the important element, giving the sense of bulk and pudgy flesh. The shading is a quite separate thing, filling in between the contours, feeling its way, and evoking the features without great commitments. From a decorative point of view its distribution is fortuitous and contributes little ornamental life. As before, the literalness underlying Bronzino's approach is evident. The second drawing that can be considered surely by Bronzino is the much later one for the *Red Sea* fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio, and for all its delicate, academic proficiency it is handled on the same principles.

As surely by Bronzino as these two, and not far in date from the drawing of the *Christ Child*, is the fine portrait sketch at Chatsworth, again in black chalk, which was long known as Pontormo's and has been given to Bronzino only relatively recently.⁸² Although more disciplined in contour and shading than the sketch for the Panciatichi picture, the style is clearly Bronzino's, and the drawing is certainly a study for his *Portrait of a Man with a Lute* in the Uffizi, which must date from the middle thirties. In 1938 Mr. Berenson had taken into consideration the drawing's connection with this picture, but he had still kept the old attribution to Pontormo.⁸³ The original failure to recognize the Chatsworth sketch as by Bronzino and even the final resistance to giving it to him must be at least partly due, as it seems to me, to a prejudice which has its origin in Vasari, actually in a chance misreading of Vasari, originally, as it appears, Mr. Berenson's.

80. These drawings (Uffizi nos. 6639 and 6704) were both first identified as Bronzino's and linked with his paintings by Clapp (*Les Dessins de Pontormo*, pp. 199 and 248; cf. also Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 63, no. 601C and no. 601D; McComb, *Bronzino*, p. 150). Besides these two drawings, basic for the study of Bronzino's drawing style because of their connection with known paintings, there is a drawing in the Städel Institut, Frankfurt (no. 4344) which is mentioned by Voss (*Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance*, I, p. 217) as being a study for the ceiling of the chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio. I have not seen this drawing, and it is not mentioned by Berenson or McComb. Mr. Philip Pouncey has told me that there is a drawing in the British Museum which can be connected with Bronzino's tapestries. The drawings in the Louvre, nos. 19 and 1026, have been considered studies for the frescoes painted in San Lorenzo (Valerio Mariani, "Due disegni del Bronzino al Louvre," *L'Arte*, XXIX, 1926, p. 58) but cannot, of course, be connected with specific figures. I have already mentioned in note 20 that the drawing which Kusenberg identified as Bronzino's study for his *Saint Lawrence* at the Certosa and which, on the basis of this identification, was listed as Bronzino's in Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 63, no. 604A, is not a sketch for Bronzino's *Saint Lawrence* but for another painting of Saint Lawrence at the Certosa, across the cloister from Bronzino's.

81. Cf. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, III, fig. 999.

82. The attribution to Bronzino was first published by Archibald G. B. Russell, *Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters*, 2nd series, part VI, 1925, no. 9, p. 7, and was afterwards followed in the catalogue, *Italian Drawings Exhibited at the Royal Academy Burlington House*, London, 1930, London, 1931, p. 34, no. 234. Becherucci, (*op. cit.*, p. 44) also speaks of the drawing as by Bronzino. It is given to Pontormo by S. Arthur Strong, *Reproductions of Drawings by Old Masters in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth*, London, 1902, p. 7 and pl. 16; by Berenson, *Drawings*, 1903, I, p. 323 and II, p. 137, no. 1957; and by Clapp, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 81. It is not mentioned by McComb. In his 1938 edition Berenson has kept the attribution to Pontormo (*Drawings*, 1938, I, p. 318 n. 1; II, p. 273; III, fig. 984). When some of the material in the present article was first presented as a paper at the meeting of the College Art Association, I had overlooked the recent attribution of this drawing to Bronzino and mentioned it as a new one.

83. Cf. note 82 above. Pontormo's handling in a similar sketch for pose and drapery, like that for the Stillman portrait (cf. O. H. Giglioli, "Disegni sconosciuti di Filippino Lippi e del Pontormo," *Dedalo*, VII, 1927, figures on pp. 789 and 790) is much freer in its rhythms, not so strictly erect or so contained and firmly silhouetted, although in the thirties his style also grew less free (see note 140 below).

In Vasari's *Life of Lappoli*, in a passage full of praise for Bronzino,⁸⁴ "senza che disegnava benissimo" has been taken in a negative sense to mean that Bronzino did not draw very well. As a result, Mr. Berenson supposed that Bronzino might have destroyed his drawings from shame, and writers subsequently concerned with the question of Bronzino as a draftsman have cited this passage. Actually, however, "senza che" is negative only with the subjunctive.⁸⁵ With the indicative as here, it can only mean "besides which" or "not to mention that"; and this, moreover, is the only way the accompanying clause makes sense: "... not to mention that he [Bronzino] drew very well and handled colors in such a way that he gave hope of arriving at that excellence and perfection which have been seen in him and still are seen in him in our own times." A correction of this reading does not suddenly prove Bronzino's draftsmanship as brilliant as Pontormo's, but it may help to keep one from assuming that no good drawing, or, of more importance to the argument to come, that no drawing good enough to be Pontormesque can be by Bronzino. From Borghini it is clear, in fact, that Bronzino's drawings were collectors' items.⁸⁶

With the help of the sure drawings, two studies from Bronzino's earliest period can, I think, be identified. They are on either side of a single leaf in the Uffizi, are again both in black chalk, and have always been considered to be by Pontormo from his middle years around 1525 to 1530.⁸⁷ One of the two drawings, slightly marred by ink additions, is a *Study of an Old Woman* (Fig. 10). In spite of the Pontormesque sfumato, the principle of handling is Bronzino's: the contour is slow and reiterated, and again as if in soft, dull pencil, it describes gently the shoulders and further profile, especially the rounded forehead, brow, chin, and neck, with the same curves as those in the *Panciatichi* drawing.⁸⁸ Inside, the shading is quite separate and once more of the scratchy kind seen before in the *Christ Child*. Only here, with its pseudo-Pontormo character, it is even more haphazard, and the neck is blotchy and indecisive, recalling Bronzino's Evangelist tondi. The drawing must belong to these same years of Pontormo imitation, around 1525-1526, and hence the date already given it is approximately correct.

The drawing on the reverse of the same sheet shows a half-length nude *Figure of a Woman in Profile* (Fig. 11). Although the line of the shoulder and arm has been more firmly gone over and accented than any seen so far, the other contours are of a kind with those which outline the *Christ Child's* head; and the mouth, the only feature really modeled, is formed rather as the *Christ Child's* is, with a little shadow that fills in around the lips. The shading throughout the figure has been softened by heightening in white and is blurred, but its distribution, as before, is hesitant by comparison with Pontormo and without the swiftness and sustained and varied rhythm of Pontormo's sketches (Fig. 7), which it superficially resembles. It is worth noting, although without undue

84. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 6: "Il Lappoli adunque, ancor che fusse potuto andare a star con Andrea, per le dette cagioni si mise col Pontormo, appresso al quale continuamente disegnando, era da due sproni per la concorrenza cacciato alla fatica terribilmente: l'uno si era Giovan Maria dal Borgo a San Sepolcro, che sotto il medesimo attendeva al disegno ed alla pittura, ed il quale, consigliandolo sempre al suo bene, fu cagione che mutasse maniera, e pigliasse quella buona del Pontormo; l'altro (e questi lo stimolava più forte) era il vedere che Agnolo chiamato il Bronzino era molto tirato innanzi da Iacopo, per una certa amorevole sommissione, bontà, e diligente fatica, che aveva nell' imitare le cose del maestro; senza che disegnava benissimo, e si portava ne' colori di maniera, che diede speranza di dovere a quell' eccellenza e perfezione venire, che in lui si è veduta e vede ne' tempi nostri."

Cf. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, I, p. 321: "The few [drawings] that do remain are singularly devoid of interest, and bear out the severe criticism made by Vasari on Bronzino's drawings."

85. Cf. *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, Florence, 1729, IV, p. 480.

86. Cf. Borghini, *op.cit.*, p. 13 and p. 21. In the first passage two drawings by Bronzino "in his better manner" are listed in excellent company: "Ma quello che fa ciascuno intento a riguardare, sono le rare pitture, e le sculture, che vi si veggono; perciocchè vi è di mano di Michelagnolo il famoso cartone della Leda, e un'altro pezzo di cartone pur del Buonarruoto delle guerre di Pisa, che si havevano a dipignere in Firenze nel palagio: di Lionardo da Vinci vi è una testa d'un morto con tutte le sue minutie: di Benvenuto Cellini il disegno del modello del Perseo di piazza: di Francesco Salviati quattro carte bellissime: del Bronzino due disegni della sua miglior maniera: del Botticelli un bellissimo quadro di pittura. . ."

87. Uffizi no. 6552 recto and verso. Cf. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, 283; Clapp, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, pp. 148-149. Black chalk is the medium apparently favored by Bronzino, in contrast to Pontormo's extensive use of red. He chose it perhaps because of its suitability to his more tentative touch.

88. Compare also the contours of forehead and brow to those of Saint Benedict at the right of the Badia fresco (fig. 3).

stress, that there exists some resemblance between this drawing and one attributed by Mr. Berenson to Garbo;⁸⁹ and another drawing in the Uffizi, connected by Professor Scharf with Garbo and by Mr. Berenson with Carli, is also somewhat similar in modeling and contour.⁹⁰ It might be, therefore, that in the present sketch we have a specimen which still reflects something of Bronzino's style as it was before his days with Pontormo, and since at the same time the figure reminds one in a general way of the more monumental classicizing and sculptural Panciatichi *Madonna*,⁹¹ it could be regarded possibly as a link between the idealized female types of the late Quattrocento and the ideal of antique sculpture to which Bronzino later sometimes subscribed. Although perhaps true, this would be an over-simplification. For as a brief comparison will show, I think, the drawing was made in part after a specific sculptured relief of the *Madonna and Child* in the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁹² or after one of its close replicas; and this is a fact, incidentally, that distinguishes it from the *Old Woman*, which is probably from life.

The relief in London is attributed to Desiderio da Settignano but has also been judged to be of the late Quattrocento.⁹³ Bronzino was not the only one to use it for study in the early sixteenth century. There are several drawings which are considered to have been derived from it, and among them are three fairly faithful copies in the manner of Baccio Bandinelli.⁹⁴ The existence of these three drawings suggests, as Wölfflin once wrote,⁹⁵ that the original relief or a replica of it may at some time have been located in Bandinelli's studio, and it might then have been in his possession when he was in Florence from 1525 to 1527,⁹⁶ the same years in which Bronzino probably made this drawing. It is not necessary, however, to assume a direct connection between Bronzino and Bandinelli. The sculptor's work was well known in Florence, and one may guess that it was sympathetic to Bronzino. In his later development toward hard elegance and polish and even in some of his late compositions Bronzino often seems his parallel in painting. By the middle twenties Bandinelli had already exhibited the fundamental qualities of his manner.⁹⁷ In view of Bronzino's background, his difficulties with Pontormo's style, and his real although perhaps unconfessed antipathy for it, it is understandable that he could have been drawn to Bandinelli while yet working under Pontormo. The nude Saint Benedict (Fig. 3), in fact, carries a suggestion of Bandinelli's flat modeling and generalized puffy anatomy.

Bronzino's touch in the drawing from the relief, however, shows nothing of Bandinelli's well-known shorthand method. Of all the studies from this model, Bronzino's conveys best the delicacy of the profile in the original, and this sympathy could be due to his previous training with Raffael-

89. Uffizi no. 207E. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 79, no. 762; III, fig. 262; and I, p. 121. Cf. also Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 295. There are resemblances in the long line of the profile, the abbreviated modeling of the eyes and mouth and in the general shading. The Christ Child in the drawing which Mr. Berenson gives to Garbo is close to the children in the tondo of the *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John* in Naples (cf. Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 285), which is generally attributed to Garbo. If by Garbo, this drawing, like the picture, shows him maintaining more contact with Filippino's flowing style than, for example, in the *Resurrection*.

90. Uffizi no. 441E. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 66, no. 626; Alfred Scharf, "Die frühen Gemälde des Raffaellino del Garbo," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIV, 1933, p. 158 n. 3, and fig. 7. For reproduction see also Paul Erich Küppers, "Über den Zusammenhang einiger Handzeichnungen mit Domenico Ghirlandaio," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, VII, 1915, pl. 72.

91. Cf. Becherucci, *Manieristi*, pl. 127. For the classicizing tendencies in this *Madonna*, cf. Bernhard Schweitzer, "Zum Antikenstudium des Angelo Bronzino," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XXXIII, 1917, pp. 53ff.

92. Eric MacLagan and Margaret H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture, Victoria and Albert Museum*,

London, 1932, p. 42, no. A84-1927, pl. 26a. The replicas, other related drawings, and bibliography are listed here. Cf. also Charles de Tolnay, *The Youth of Michelangelo*, Princeton, 1943, pp. 129-131 and fig. 137.

93. Heinrich Wölfflin, "Florentinische Madonnenreliefs," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, IV, 1893, pp. 107ff. and also de Tolnay, *op.cit.*, who gives a full account of the theories about this relief.

94. (1) A drawing formerly in the Heseltine collection and then in the Oppenheimer collection, attributed by Wölfflin (*op.cit.*, p. 108) to a pupil of Bandinelli and in *Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters*, 2nd series, part V, Oxford, 1924, no. 4, to Bandinelli or "some unidentified contemporary." (2) Uffizi no. 152, published as Bandinelli by Wölfflin, *op.cit.*, fig. on p. 110 (cf. also de Tolnay, *op.cit.*, fig. 141). (3) A drawing in the Louvre published as a work of the shop of Bandinelli by G. de Lipart, "Un Dessin de Bandinelli," *Beaux-Arts*, II, 1924, p. 278 (cf. also de Tolnay, *op.cit.*, fig. 140). Of the three this is the most faithful to the relief.

95. Wölfflin, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

96. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 146-152.

97. Cf. Bandinelli's *Orpheus*, his copy of the *Laocoön*, or the *Birth of the Virgin* at Loreto (Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, X, II, pp. 187ff. and figs. 168, 199, and 204).

lino, whose style on occasion seems to have been much in the spirit of the relief.⁹⁸ Yet, in all but the head, Bronzino departed from his model in favor of a nude figure with neck and shoulder like Pontormo's, and a strong, broad arm, such as one can find later in Bronzino's pictures.⁹⁹ The sketch thus translates the *Madonna* into the monumental idiom of the sixteenth century,¹⁰⁰ showing the result of Bronzino's stay with Pontormo and perhaps evidence also of a new awareness of Michelangelo.¹⁰¹

Of the drawings here attributed to Bronzino, the one of the *Old Woman* is of special interest, for it leads, of course, to the *Holy Family* in the National Gallery in Washington (Fig. 12). This is a striking but difficult picture, attributed to Pontormo, yet one to give a Pontormo student pause.¹⁰² A detailed technical examination, which is scheduled to be made by the National Gallery,¹⁰³ should be important in the case of this painting. The difficulties which the picture presents are due in part, in my opinion, to over-painting, especially in the head of the Virgin, and to a lesser extent in the heads of the Christ Child and Saint Elizabeth. (The Joseph, John, and accessories are little affected.) This over-painting does not appear to be new, but it seems hardly possible that it was there originally. It is the cause of the suspicious, over-simplified effect especially of the Madonna's mask-like face, over most of which are clear patches of over-glazing which obscure the crackle and are not visible on the x-ray, except as blurs. The x-rays confirm also that the eyes of the Virgin are entirely repainted, the eyebrows raised more than a quarter inch, and the mouth gone over, so that the effect is very different from that of the original form. In spite of these difficulties it is tempting to hazard an opinion about the picture's origins.

As has been observed, it recalls Pontormo of the middle twenties. But it is also unlike him in many ways. The colors are solid and heavy for Pontormo. Types like the Virgin, the elegant Joseph with the heavy-lidded eye, or the sweet and pudgy Christ are not his, nor is the empty soulfulness of the faces. Least Pontormesque of all, however, is the handling of the composition, which instead of flowing together is added together, like a pastiche of isolated elements. As disturbing as the effect of these peculiarities is with respect to Pontormo, it seems the kind of result one might in some measure predict for an early attempt by Bronzino to grasp Pontormo's unstable style of about 1525 and shortly after. One might expect the additive composition, the inserted, hovering Christ Child, the tilted Madonna, the unrelated stares, the unstable arrested poses, the figures leaning forward from behind the table toward the picture plane, the heavy colors, even the diverse types. The Virgin's

98. Cf. such attributed works as the Naples *Madonna* (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, xii, fig. 285) or the drawing cited above in note 89.

99. Cf. the *Portrait of Andrea Doria* in Milan (Beche-rucci, *op.cit.*, pl. 133).

100. The new monumentality of the figure in the drawing as compared to the relief is not due simply to the substitution of a powerful nude body nor to the infusion of an integrating movement into the forms in Pontormesque fashion. There is a greater scale suggested by a shift in the spectator's point of view, now a little below and looking up. There is also a new breadth of surface even in the head: the cheek is wider and the jaw lower, so that the face takes on proportions more like those seen later in Bronzino—the evidence of his sense of broad surface design.

101. In the twenties Michelangelo was working in Florence on the Medici tombs and in 1525 already had his *Madonna* in progress (Charles de Tolnay, *The Medici Chapel*, Princeton, 1948, p. 58). Later in the thirties the tomb sculpture had an important influence on some of Bronzino's portraits and perhaps to some extent on pictures like the *Panciatichi Madonna*.

102. Cf. *Preliminary Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*, Washington, 1941, p. 158, no. 480, and Walter Pach, *Catalogue of European and American Paintings 1500-1900, Masterpieces of Art*,

New York World's Fair, 1940, p. 10, no. 12. In both catalogues the painting is attributed to Pontormo and dated respectively 1525-1528 and 1525-1530. See also, Fasola, *Pontormo*, p. 52 and fig. 34, where the picture is given as Pontormo's and compared to the Evangelist tondi, but Fasola noted, nevertheless, that the painting was unusual in some respects. The Washington catalogue states that the picture was formerly in the Capponi collection, Florence, and was acquired for the Kress collection in 1939. The Countess Luisa Capponi has written me that she has no recollection that this picture was ever in her branch of the Capponi family but says that it might have belonged in another now died out. Inquiries made to Count Contini-Bonacossi, through whom the picture was purchased, have not thrown any further light on its provenance.

Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, vi, p. 272) states that Pontormo painted for the chamber of Ludovico Capponi a *Madonna* in the same manner as the work for the chapel at Santa Felicità, executed for the same Ludovico. This *Madonna* has not been identified (cf. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 257).

103. According to Mr. Stephen S. Pichetto of the National Gallery staff, who allowed me to study his x-rays of this picture. I am indebted to Mr. John Walker for permission to use x-rays and photographs of the picture from the files of the National Gallery of Art.

features in the x-ray recall the bald Saint Benedict at the left of the Badia fresco (Fig. 3) and also anticipate characteristic faces of the thirties, for example, that of *Lucrezia Panciatichi*.¹⁰⁴ The smooth Christ Child seems related to the other Benedict of the Badia fresco and to Bronzino's later well-known putti;¹⁰⁵ the fatty fleshiness of this figure reappears throughout Bronzino's works, even when his modeling is at its hardest.¹⁰⁶ Where the original surface of the painting is clear, the textures and tricks of brushstroke are Bronzino's.¹⁰⁷ The head of Saint Joseph, on the other hand, still shows its origin in Garbo-Carli (Fig. 19), whose much earlier Saint Zenobius in the Uffizi *Madonna and Saints* might be a brother.¹⁰⁸ In fact, when seen next to the paintings of the Garbo-Carli *oeuvre*, the Washington *Holy Family* finds something of a kindred spirit despite its Pontormo dress. It might be said to combine some of the slick emptiness of the older style with Pontormo's advanced idiom, and the result, however unintentionally, is something new which is like a presentiment of later mannerism.

In addition to Bronzino's study for the Saint Elizabeth there is another, marvelous sketch which seems related to the finished head (Fig. 15), this one surely by Pontormo.¹⁰⁹ A comparison between the head at the right on this sheet and Bronzino's study (Fig. 10) shows at its clearest the difference between pupil and master. Pontormo's drawing is soft, but entirely sure in expressing the bone structure of forehead and jaw; its line and shading are fused, its mood ideally tender. It seems possible and even likely that Bronzino took from this drawing suggestions for the angular forehead, for the nose and mouth, and for the facial expression of the Saint Elizabeth in Washington,¹¹⁰ but in his painted version the idealized character, of course, is lost. As it happens, the final head in the painting is in many respects repeated in the *Saint Luke* from Santa Felicita (Fig. 9), and Saint Elizabeth's wide, thickly painted expanse of shoulder and stiff drapery are recalled in the figure of Saint Mark (Fig. 8).

As a last detail from the Washington *Holy Family*, the Saint John (Fig. 14) marks a complete contrast with the rest of the picture, especially in the fluid, sketchy handling of the paint, which no longer merely colors a shape already there, so to speak, but builds the form itself, suggesting a surface flickering in atmosphere and, in addition, the elusive life of a human spirit. The free

104. Cf. Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pl. 126. The face of the Madonna, like that of the nude Saint Benedict, reflects Pontormo as in the two women at the left of the fresco at Poggia a Caiano, but the simplification and hardness and resulting slickness are very different. These modifications have a precedent in the Garbo-Carli Madonnas.

105. For example, in the ceiling of the chapel of Eleonora, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, reproduced by McComb, *Bronzino*, pl. 44. For the thick lids and wide dry eye of the Christ Child and Benedict, compare also the *Saint Luke*. For the pasty, flat-edged form, compare Bronzino's Vienna *Holy Family* or the Faudel-Phillips *Holy Family* in the National Gallery, London. (Cf. Sir Claude Phillips, "An Unknown Bronzino," *Burlington Magazine*, xxvi, 1914, pp. 3ff., pls. 1 and 11.) The woolly hair of the Christ Child becomes common in Bronzino's work.

106. See, for example, paintings as late as the London *Allegory* and the *Venus, Cupid, and Satyr* of the Colonna Gallery, Rome, or as early as the *Saint Lawrence* at the Certosa and the nude Saint Benedict at the Badia, or again a painting of the thirties like the *Panciatichi Holy Family* or the Doria portrait in Milan.

107. For example, the scythe-like stroke which seems characteristic of Bronzino (see note 51 above) is seen here in the fabric of the paint surface, as in Joseph's shoulder or upper cheek, and openly in the locks of Joseph's hair. The heavy, smooth grain of Saint Elizabeth's kerchief in the shadow below the chin parallels the collars of Saint Mark and the *Panciatichi Madonna*; the fine crossing strokes of the Virgin's right shoulder are repeated in the *Panciatichi Virgin* (left shoulder) and the *Portrait of Lucrezia Panciatichi* (dress at breast); the

stiff hard surface of Joseph's hat is reminiscent of Bronzino's painting of buildings (*Panciatichi Madonna*, *Bartolommeo Panciatichi*); the freer handling of the drapery under Christ produces folds and texture recalled later to some extent in the inner collar of the *Panciatichi Virgin*. The ragged strokes of Joseph's beard are reminiscent of *Saint Mark*.

108. One of the masks in the much later London *Allegory* still recalls in a way this type of face (cf. Sir Kenneth Clark, *One Hundred Details from Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1938, pl. 79). The flatness of Joseph's shoulder may be compared to similar characteristic passages by Bronzino in other pictures, for example the Joseph of the *Panciatichi Holy Family* (cf. McComb, *op.cit.*, pl. 6) or the early *Saint Mark*. Even a trick of drapery like the hooked folds of the Virgin's dress in the Garbo-Carli Uffizi *Madonna and Saints* (cf. fig. 13) may be still reflected in the Saint Elizabeth's drapery. This peculiarity has not so close a parallel in Pontormo. (Compare, for example, the *Supper at Emmaus*. Cf. Becherucci, *Manieristi*, pl. 35.)

109. Uffizi no. 6729^v. Berenson (*Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 296, no. 2211A) suggested no date. Clapp (*Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 263) dated the drawing on the other side of the page 1516-1521 and these two heads 1516-1519. Yet the head at right on the verso, it seems to me, is in the spirit of the *Deposition* of Santa Felicita, and the delicate purity of line and shading is not out of keeping with drawings from the years when this was painted, so that the sketches on this side of the page could, as I feel, belong to the middle twenties.

110. Close examination of the painting shows that the forehead was probably at first more angular than it finally was painted.

handling of hair, ears, and eyes, and the swiftly brushed paint of the mouth are far from Bronzino and have their only parallels in heads by Pontormo, like those in the *Deposition*¹¹¹ or the somewhat later head of the Christ Child in the Uffizi *Holy Family*, attributed to Pontormo.¹¹² The x-ray of the lower right-hand corner of the Washington picture shows that Saint John's head and upper arm were reworked, apparently while the paint was still wet, and the head tilted, where before it had been straight. This correction, which resulted in the really masterly Saint John, indicates, I think, that Pontormo was at hand during the making of this almost experimental picture and retouched it here.¹¹³ Yet he was powerless, as it were, to prevent even by example, the appearance of a hardened, artificial version of his own style, one more deserving of being called "mannered"¹¹⁴ since it is in Pontormo's manner without the special inner life or direct experience which motivate that manner in Pontormo.

In spite of its weaknesses as Pontormo imitation, the Washington *Holy Family* points in parts toward Bronzino's later competence and has positive individual qualities which make it impressive, particularly the monumental breadth of its forms which spread out in hardened silhouette and fill the picture. Such an effect is Bronzino's. To judge from the close connection of the *Holy Family* with the Badia fresco and the Evangelists of Santa Felicita as well as to its distant kinship with the Caravaggesque *Emmaus* and the *Deposition*, the painting must be near those in date. I should place it about the time of the *Saint Mark*.

Some years ago in Paris a picture with the same composition as Bronzino's Washington *Holy Family* and attributed to the School of Leonardo da Vinci was sold at auction from the Cernuschi collection.¹¹⁵ Its present whereabouts is unknown to me,¹¹⁶ but to judge from the photograph in the catalogue of sale it is of poor quality, so poor that there seems little likelihood of its having been itself the original source picture in which the composition was first created. It must have been a copy or adaptation. The picture seems a hybrid, and possibly not even painted by an Italian, but it has more in common with the Leonardo circle than with any other. Its style in general points in that direction as do individual elements of the composition. The Christ Child is closely related in pose to several clearly defined types for the Infant Christ which appear in the works of Leonardo's followers and reflect his example;¹¹⁷ the use of the rock,¹¹⁸ and the pose of Saint John are con-

111. Cf. the heads at the far left and right of the *Deposition* (Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pls. 40, 43).

112. Cf. Becherucci, *op.cit.*, pl. 54.

113. Although Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 271) says that when Pontormo let assistants help him he allowed them to do the whole work themselves, he also tells (*ibid.*, pp. 259-260) very specifically how Pontormo reworked the pictures of his pupils Pichi and Lappoli.

114. I.e. in the limited and disparaging sense first used by Vasari (cf. Marco Treves, "Maniera, the History of the Word," *Marsyas*, I, 1941, pp. 75-76).

115. Cf. *Catalogue des tableaux anciens des écoles primitives, italienne, allemande et flamande, bois sculptés, tapisserie, provenant de la collection Cernuschi*, sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 25-26, 1900, no. 22, p. 22 (illustration). I am indebted to Mrs. Erika Tietze-Conrat, who found and pointed this painting out to me after I read my paper on Bronzino at the meeting of the College Art Association in January 1948.

116. I am grateful to Dr. Wilhelm Suida and Dr. L. H. Heydenreich for discussing this picture with me. Neither knows its whereabouts or has ever seen it.

117. The x-rays of the Washington *Holy Family* show that the Christ's hand was originally pointing like that of the Christ in the Cernuschi painting. In the Leonardo circle a somewhat similar type of Christ is represented in reverse in the picture of the *Virgin Nursing the Child* in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, attributed to Giampietrino (cf. Wilhelm Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis*, Munich, 1929, fig. 51 and

p. 55; see here also other examples mentioned, including Raphael's adaptation in the Bridgewater *Madonna*); in a *Madonna and Child* attributed to Francesco Napolitano in the Cleveland Museum (cf. *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, December, 1935, XXII, pp. 156-159); also a *Madonna* of Albertina Piazza da Lodi (cf. Suida, *op.cit.*, p. 238 and fig. 329). Another similar pose is found in the *Madonna of the Cherries* of Giampietrino (cf. Suida, *ibid.*, p. 271 and Paul Schubring, "Die Sammlung Nemes in Budapest," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XXII, 1911, fig. 5, p. 33) copied in Flemish works (cf. Ludwig Baldass, *Joos van Cleve*, Vienna, 1925, p. 32 and Suida, *op.cit.*, fig. 34). Still other related types of the Infant Christ in the Leonardo circle are seen in a *Madonna and Child* attributed to Francesco Napolitano (cf. *Catalogue, Charles H. Seff Collection Sale*, Anderson Galleries, New York, March 28-29, 1928, no. 11) and in a *Virgin and Child with Saint Bernardino of Siena* (cf. *Catalogue, J. Dollfus Collection Sale*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 1-2, 1912, p. 89).

118. Cf. *Madonna and Child* of the Leonardo school in the R. W. Redford collection, Montreal (and Suida, *op.cit.*, fig. 133 and p. 136 for other versions). An elaboration of this composition with additional figures and change of landscape is found in the *Holy Family* attributed variously to Francesco Napolitano and Martino Piazza in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (cf. Federico Hermanin, *Il Palazzo di Venezia, museo e grandi sale; descrizione e catalogo dell'appartamento di Paolo II*, Bologna, 1926, p. 72 and plate).

sistent with the art of Leonardo and his imitators,¹¹⁹ and so is the three-dimensional grouping of the figures, except for the placing of the Saint Joseph. It is doubtless always possible that the Cernuschi picture reflects an unknown composition by Leonardo himself, one from his late Florentine period,¹²⁰ but in any case there must have been another somewhat less cohesive model immediately behind the Cernuschi picture, an intermediate stage if one assumes an ultimate prototype by Leonardo. Saint Joseph's position is too separate, and the whole arrangement is spread out and loosely put together in a way which recalls a little Bronzino's *Holy Family*, without, however, sharing his hovering poses or, it may be added, his impressive breadth.

Whatever may have been the derivation of the Cernuschi *Holy Family*, it seems impossible that either it or its prototype could have been based on Bronzino's picture. For one actually needs to know the Cernuschi painting with the Infant Christ seated on the rock in the foreground in order to explain satisfactorily ambiguities in Bronzino's composition such as the perfunctory table, with its irregular, highly doubtful diagonal shape.¹²¹ It is much more likely that it was Bronzino who borrowed the composition. Probably he took it from the model of the Cernuschi version—from the intermediate stage, if one should assume Leonardo as the first inventor.¹²²

If this is so, then we have here something curious: a deliberate transfer of a composition from a Leonardesque manner into Pontormo's, a transfer which must have taken place under the eye of Pontormo and probably, therefore, with his approval if not his direction. Pontormo's style in the twenties must certainly have had something of the status of a revolutionary program, as *anticlassical* as Professor Friedländer has indicated.¹²³ And as for Bronzino, we apparently find him making here a translation out of one language into another, neither of which is really his own. In view of such a background of training, one can hardly be surprised at the "entirely unnaïve"¹²⁴ approach of his later career.

There is one more picture, again attributed to Pontormo, which ought to be given mention here. This is the *Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph and Saint John* in Leningrad, which was published a few years ago.¹²⁵ Unfortunately no good photographs of it can now be obtained, and nothing certain can be said about it, in any case, without seeing it. The picture is described as having suffered significantly from over-painting, especially in the faces and hands.¹²⁶ Yet to judge simply from the published photograph, it shows divergencies from Pontormo's style which are of rather the same kind as those of Bronzino in the middle twenties. In spite of the unpleasantly sweet expression of some of the faces, which are nearly as curious for Bronzino as for Pontormo (but may be due to repainting), there is the possibility, I believe, that the picture may turn out to be by Bronzino. In this case he would have been following a well-known drawing by Pontormo, which was obviously the model for the picture, as Maria Stscherbatscheva pointed out in her publication of the Leningrad *Madonna*.¹²⁷ Miss Stscherbatscheva remarks that, compared to Pontormo's drawing, the painting shows a harshness and coldness and a loss of dramatic character, and that it is also different in much the same respects from Pontormo's other madonnas. The Virgin of the painting is, in fact, more symmetrically placed and more rigidly vertical than in the drawing, the con-

119. There is already a suggestion of this pointing Saint John in the late *Holy Family* of Andrea Mantegna at Dresden, which may reflect Leonardo (cf. Giuseppe Fiocco, *Mantegna*, Milan, 1937, pl. 130).

120. The *Madonna della Impannata* of Raphael is perhaps a more distant echo of the same composition. The Saint John and Christ Child of the picture suggest this possibility.

121. In the Cernuschi picture there is room for Saint John to hold his cross. In Bronzino's version the cross had to be left out, but the hand which should have held it still appears and is curiously useless.

122. The picture in the Cernuschi sale may be itself later than Bronzino's.

123. Walter Friedländer, "Die Entstehung des anticlassischen Stiles in der italienischen Malerei um 1520," *Reperitorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 49ff.

124. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance*, I, p. 209.

125. Marie Stscherbatscheva, "Ein neu aufgefundenes Bild Pontormos (Leningrad, Hermitage)," *Belvedere*, XII, 1934-37, pp. 179ff., fig. 196.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 179 n. 1.

127. Uffizi no. 6729^v. *Ibid.*, fig. 197. In the Saint Mark tondo we have already had an instance in which Bronzino painted after the older master's sketches in the process of "imitating his things."

tours are stiffened and all the forms reduced to smoother, more silhouetted areas which spread out flatly to fill the picture. The result is striking, as has been observed, but in a spirit different from Pontormo's and akin to Bronzino's.¹²⁸

The drawing by Pontormo for the Leningrad picture is on the other side of the sheet with two heads (Fig. 15), which, as mentioned above, quite likely served as models for Saint Elizabeth in the Washington *Holy Family*. This could, of course, be coincidence. The drawing for the *Madonna and Child* seems to date from around the period of Pontormo's frescoes at Poggio a Caiano or a little before,¹²⁹ and hence, as I should think, is earlier by a few years than the picture in Leningrad.¹³⁰ The sketches of the Saint Elizabeth-like heads on the reverse of the sheet are less easily datable, but do not seem to me out of keeping with Pontormo's style in the middle twenties. To go all the way, therefore, with sheer surmise: if it should turn out that Bronzino could reasonably be held responsible for the Leningrad picture, then one should probably assume that he did it sometime around the middle twenties, working from the earlier sketch by Pontormo, available in the studio. In this case, Pontormo probably used the sheet again to illustrate his own idea for the Saint Elizabeth in Washington. The similarity of the Virgin's headdress in the Washington and Leningrad pictures is one more small link between the two paintings, and the most distinctive fold of the headdress in Washington apparently goes back ultimately to the drawing for the Hermitage picture.

In Vasari's *Life of Bronzino*, just after the mention of the Badia fresco and a now ruined tabernacle, there is listed a *Pietà* in Santa Trinita at Florence.¹³¹ On Milanesi's authority this was identified with a *Pietà* now in the Uffizi,¹³² which has since been taken from Bronzino and attributed to Pontormo,¹³³ then denied to both Pontormo and Bronzino,¹³⁴ and in recent years returned to Bronzino once more.¹³⁵ The Uffizi *Pietà* (Fig. 17) is again a painting known to me only from photographs, though from detailed ones. From these it seems safely Bronzino's picture and suited to a date in the twenties, toward 1528, slightly later than the works considered so far. For although reflecting still Pontormo's style of these years, it leads from the *Saint Luke* of Santa Felicita to such paintings of the thirties as the *Panciatichi Holy Family* and the *Portrait of the Man with a Lute* in the Uffizi.¹³⁶ The general similarities among these four pictures are paralleled in the treatment of details like the hands, arms, heads and features, and in the similar solidified textures. The *Pietà* makes even more definite the direction already indicated in the *Saint Luke* and carried on in the thirties; away from extreme anticlassicism and to a certain extent toward nature, at least toward stability and materiality, greater representational control, and a more objective assertion of weight and substance. It was a direction which led away also from painterliness toward hard, simplified, even sculptural modeling. Hardening, smoothing, and simplification were already in the air in Florence, especially in the sculpture of the time, like Bandinelli's. As suggested earlier, Bronzino could hardly have escaped being acquainted with the works of Bandinelli, who made such a stir in Florence in his rivalry with Michelangelo. Moreover, Bronzino had a friend in Bandinelli's

128. The Corsini *Madonna* (Becherucci, *op.cit.*, fig. 34) is harder than usual for Pontormo, but it has a vitality very different in amount and in kind from the Washington *Holy Family* or the Leningrad painting.

129. Clapp (*Les Dessins de Pontormo*, pp. 262-263) dates the drawing 1516-1521. Berenson (*Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 296) suggests no date; Stscherbatscheva, *op.cit.*, implies that she puts it around 1521-1522 at the time of Poggio a Caiano, or a little after. The drawing seems close in style to the Uffizi drawing 452F, which Clapp (*Les Dessins de Pontormo*, *op.cit.*, p. 98) dated 1518-1520 and which has on the other side a head for the fresco at Poggio, as Giglioli pointed out (O. H. Giglioli, "Disegni sconosciuti di Filippino Lippi e del Pontormo," *Dedalo*, VII, 1926-27, pp. 777 and 782 (illustration)).

130. As a Bronzino, the Leningrad picture would fall in

with Bronzino's activity in the mid-twenties when he was imitating Pontormo's manner. But even considered apart from Bronzino the picture has features which suggest a little this time: the idea of inserting heads at the sides is in keeping with the practice in the *Supper at Emmaus* of 1525, and the folds are stylized somewhat in the manner of this picture.

131. Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 594.

132. Uffizi no. 8545. *Ibid.*, n. 3.

133. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1903, I, p. 320; II, p. 147; Schulze, *op.cit.*, pp. 5 and lxi.

134. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 199; McComb, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

135. Bernhard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 115; *idem*, *Pitture italiane del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1936, p. 99; Becherucci, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

136. McComb, *op.cit.*, pls. 6 and 3.

shop in the young Vasari, who with Salviati was Bandinelli's pupil in the middle twenties, and there is even the unverifiable possibility that he might have done his drawing of the female profile there (Fig. 11). Bronzino must have been somewhat sympathetic with Vasari's opinion of Pontormo's "stravaganti modi di fare,"¹³⁷ and he could well have shared with the Bandinelli circle a growing taste for Bandinelli's colder and more emotionless form. For Bronzino's part he would have been predisposed toward this direction by his training under Raffaellino. In the *Pietà* the general effect of the modeling of the heads is anticipated in a Garbo-Carli picture like the Louvre *Coronation*, as is also to some extent the mood of the figures.

As for its composition, the *Pietà* is free of hovering ambiguities and down to earth. Compared to the imaginative visions of Pontormo, relatively cold and strict composing is uppermost here. In part, this was a return to the tradition for tectonic construction native to Florence. The broad figures are now in closer structural relation to the frame than formerly, more erect within it, and more parallel to the picture surface, not leaning unstably toward or away from it as before, though crowded near it still. In the succeeding years Bronzino gained strength from this method both for his portraits and his pictures with large figures. It has seemed to me that he took refuge in it as a solution to his problem of sheer picture-making, with which he had had such serious difficulties when first following Pontormo. But he gradually made of it a specialty of style and pressed forward his increasingly abstracted forms into an airless frontal plane, to effect there at his best a commanding ornamental splendor.¹³⁸ A confining, close relation to the picture plane and a growing rigidity became essential features, both certainly anticlassical, of the modified, distinctive version of anticlassicism which Bronzino was soon to forge for himself. They were characteristics which helped especially to convey the new repression and constraint which frequently mark his developed style.

In the new period of reaction and growing independence following the *Pietà* Bronzino gradually brought to maturity his kind of anticlassicism. It was to prove, as we know, the style par excellence of the new courtly regime in Florence. Modern criticism has seen in it also a typical expression of the constraining atmosphere of the Counter Reformation.¹³⁹ Its spirit, although related to Pontormo's, was to be unmistakably distinct. With its appearance we can speak of the beginning of a second phase of anticlassical painting in Florence.

The new period in Bronzino's work is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, it may be observed that, although the tendency indicated by the Uffizi *Pietà* appears to be fundamental to Bronzino's evolution after the earliest works, the *Portrait* of Duke Guidobaldo (done around 1531-1532 during the sojourn at Pesaro) is evidence enough that Bronzino's development in the late twenties and early thirties was not exactly simple or one-sided, but instead unexpectedly complex, and also swift. By 1530 or 1531 he had certainly struck at last a mature stride to deserve so important a commission and to have fulfilled it with such a competent picture. Even before his contact with the Court of Urbino, where he must have felt the added impetus of its tradition of the "Cortigiano," he had probably initiated on the basis of Pontormo's marvelous but disquieting new style of portraiture his own inherently courtly one with its elegance and composure, its calculated order, and its precise representations, executed, for the most part, in the hardened substances for which his pre-Pontormo training predisposed him. Indeed, considering the contrasting predilec-

137. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 271; cf. also pp. 266-269.

138. For a while Bronzino opposed a deep perspective to the foreground figure in some of his portraits. Hans Hoffman (*Hochrenaissance, Manierismus, Frühbarock, die italienische Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Zurich, 1938, p. 58) has made generalizations about this type of composition in mannerist pictures. The tension between surface and depth thus introduced is mentioned below.

139. Cf. Pevsner in N. Pevsner and O. Grautoff, *Barockmalerei in den romanischen Ländern* (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Potsdam, 1928, pp. 3ff.; also N. Pevsner, "Gegenreformation und Manierismus," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 243ff. For another view see Werner Weisbach, "Gegenreformation-Manierismus-Barock," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIX, 1928, 1p. 16ff.

tions of Pontormo and Bronzino in the middle twenties, it may well be, as I think, that the impetus for Pontormo's own change in portraits of the thirties to a cooler, more rigid, constructivist style came especially from his maturing pupil.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, Bronzino's abilities now became multiplied, and his touch was not only accomplished but surprisingly varied. The restrained, sensitive richness of the dog's head in the Duke's portrait and the fluidity and animation of the bit of landscape in the Panciatici *Holy Family* or the painting and composition of the still later Budapest *Nativity* are worth noticing well. It must have been this kind of proficiency and change of pace which at last made him genuinely useful to Pontormo, so that his old master now called upon him frequently to take a substantial part in the execution of his major commissions, all unfortunately lost.¹⁴¹

Bronzino's earliest works from the middle twenties, however, belong to a phase of his development which might be called his period of artificial anticlassicism, or artificial mannerism, if one stands with Briganti in using the term mannerism consistently for anticlassicism from around 1515 on.¹⁴² They present the spectacle of a painter in a predicament, at a time of life when he should have been well on his own way but instead was trying, mostly unsuccessfully, to cope with Pontormo's extraordinary style. The predicament was acute because Bronzino had been deprived as a youth of the artistic benefits of his own century and faced Pontormo's innovations without grounding in the fluent idiom of the full Cinquecento, which Pontormo's flights presupposed. It should be said also of these earliest pictures that in their obvious betrayal of their lack of Pontormo's original inner motivation and emotion they underline one inherent reason why later mannerism could frequently become so mannered: the imitation of styles so far from nature and so personal and imaginative as those of the first anticlassicists was particularly susceptible at the outset to artificiality and empty manipulation. The vitality could quickly disappear in purely intellectual repetition—especially at the hands of a painter touched with the cold spirit of academicism, as Bronzino had been by Raffaellino. In these respects Bronzino's first pictures were a preview of what was to come and the Washington *Holy Family*, particularly, a landmark. They had, certainly, no direct issue. Yet one might say that in them is the beginning of the phenomenon prevalent in later mannerism, namely mannered mannerism. Bronzino seemed at first destined to be only a mannered mannerist, before he became a mannerist proper, creative in his own right.

In the twenties, however, expressive, anticlassical mannerism was still new and eccentric enough to be put aside, at least to some extent. Pontormo's effect upon Bronzino remained of great importance, and Bronzino's works of the thirties and later show in many ways increased understanding for him: for his expressive silhouettes, slender, arbitrary proportions and vertical accent, for his compressed figures and frequent stress upon the picture plane (at times contrasted with depth), and even more for his mannerist refinement, idealizing style itself. From Pontormo came also the authority for

140. Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 594) says that while still with Pontormo, Bronzino had already done many portraits and other pictures which had given him a name (cf. note 3 above).

The interlude in Pontormo's painting marked by a cooled and stiffened style ("quell' influo accademico" noted by Becherucci, *Manieristi*, p. 19) after his astonishingly free works of the twenties might have been due in considerable part, I think, to the influence of Bronzino. The opinion generally held that the direction of influence in this respect was the other way around, that Pontormo changed first (Becherucci, *op.cit.*, p. 43; cf. also Jenő Lanyi, "Pontormo's Bildnis der Maria Salviati de' Medici, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, IV, 1933, pp. 88ff.), and that Bronzino merely went forward on the basis of a new lead from Pontormo, seems less likely, in view of the fundamental differences between the two in the middle twenties. If Pontormo's great creative independence was threatened for a time by the influence of Bronzino and the new taste (which has been identified with courtly Florence in the thirties), as we know it was by Michelangelo, it was nonetheless magnificently proclaimed

once more in his extraordinary visions of San Lorenzo.

141. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, pp. 65-67.

For the new period of growing mastery and independence after the *Pietà* there arise important questions which I should like to enter upon another time, such as whether the Leningrad *Marsyas* is not really Bronzino's, from the Pesaro sojourn, as Dr. Voss long ago claimed (Hermann Voss, "Über einige Gemälde und Zeichnungen von Meistern aus dem Kreise Michelangelos," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIV, 1913, pp. 311ff. and figs. 15, 16; Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance*, I, p. 209, figs. 67, 68), and whether Vasari was not after all correct, as recently reasserted (Becherucci, *op.cit.*, p. 43), when he said (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 275) that during the siege of Florence (from the autumn of 1529 into August 1530) Bronzino executed for Pontormo the *Pygmalion and Galatea*, so generally Pontormesque and exceptional for Bronzino, yet in details indicative of the younger man. (A casual remark of Professor Richard Offner first suggested to me that a skeptical eye should be turned again upon this picture.)

142. Giuliano Briganti, *Il Manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi*, Rome, 1945.

basically anticlassical license in matters of abstract decorativeness, however different the use to which it was put, and the impetus for a genuinely personal quality in Bronzino's art, which through the thirties and forties overcame the impersonal academicism inherent in his early background. But for his own style Bronzino chose to avoid the extremes of anticlassicism. He based his reaction to it in part on a certain return to nature and turned more to a classicizing style, probably following the lead of Bandinelli and his circle as well as his own bent and earlier training. It is significant that Raffaellino now became of *positive* value to him rather than a hindrance. Bronzino put to use and intensified Raffaellino's modeling, his strong, simple contours (Fig. 13) and local color, his figures seen broadly in more or less two-dimensional arrangements against contrasting backgrounds, his standard of stiff impressive competence, and especially his Quattrocentesque precision of representation. Here in the late fifteenth century is the source of Bronzino's so-called realism, so striking in its new context of arbitrary abstraction.¹⁴³ Even Raffaellino's preoccupied, impassive people with their cold and heavy-lidded beauty seem incorporated into Bronzino's courtly world. It happened in this way that the influence of a Quattrocentist was piped underground, as it were, through the High Renaissance and out into this really post-Pontormo style. The similarity between the generations of Filippino and Pontormo was thus followed by a definite relation between their immediate successors.¹⁴⁴ In this is the crux of the difficulties which have always been encountered in trying to define Bronzino's position with respect to the early mannerism of Pontormo. At the same time, as we have seen, Bronzino learned to take strength for his art from a deliberate structural method of composition in close relation to the picture plane and to the frame; and in the course of the thirties he intensified wonderfully the effect of this method, making the relations to frame and surface stricter and achieving, no doubt with the help of influence from Michelangelo, a new vitality and tension. Tense opposition, akin to Michelangelo's, between surface and depth¹⁴⁵ appeared in Bronzino's work, especially in portraits such as the *Martelli*, where even the pose is drawn from the sculptor's Medici Tombs and the polished surfaces recall his painting. Michelangelo must have attracted Bronzino almost as much by his sculptor's approach to painting as by his genius. In him Bronzino could find justification and encouragement for his own taste, however *different* from Michelangelo's it had been in origin. Indeed, it was precisely because of the sculptural quality which they had in common that years later Cellini considered these two the best of all painters.

Principally in these ways, I think, Bronzino forged belatedly his own distinctive style in a sud-

143. Cf. The Raffaellino *Resurrection* (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 288) and the *Madonna and Saints* (Fig. 13) in the Uffizi. Longhi ("Un San Tomaso del Velázquez e le congiunture italo-spagnole tra il '5 e il '600," *Vita artistica*, II, 1927, p. 7) had suggested that it had a Quattrocentesque origin.

144. The delicate Faudel-Phillips *Madonna* in the National Gallery, London, and even the well-known Budapest *Nativity* seem to echo distantly other facets of the spirit of the Quattrocento which Raffaellino, as the pupil of Filippino, sometimes showed.

On several occasions Friedrich Antal has suggested that the late Quattrocento style exemplified by Filippino Lippi was continued in the first anticlassicism of Pontormo, Beccafumi, and Il Rosso ("Gedanken zur Entwicklung der Trecento- und Quattrocento Malerei in Siena und Florenz," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1924, pp. 227ff.; "Studien zur Gotik im Quattrocento, einige italienische Bilder des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 20, 32; "Breu und Filippino," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXII, 1928, pp. 29ff.; "Zum Problem des niederländischen Manierismus," *Kritische Berichte*, III/IV, 1928/29, pp. 207ff.). The connection of Raffaellino with Bronzino, which has concerned us here, however, is a connection now of second generations. With regard to Antal's thesis

I am tempted to see a relation between the *Sibyls* of Filippino's ceiling in Santa Maria sopra Minerva at Rome (especially the *Delphic Sibyl*, cf. A. Scharf, *Filippino Lippi*, Vienna, 1935, pl. 47, fig. 68) and Pontormo's *Deposition* of Santa Felicità, which is so inexplicable and mysterious a picture. Vasari says that it was Raffaellino who executed this ceiling for Filippino (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 235), when Raffaellino was still promising. Could Raffaellino have kept some of Filippino's compositional drawings and details for the ceiling (cf., for example, A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings in the Collection Formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps. Bart., F.R.S., Now in the Possession of His Grandson T. Fitzroy Phillips Fenwick*, 1935, pp. 6-7, pl. IX) which then passed into the hands of his foremost pupil, Bronzino, to become in this way available to Pontormo? Without detracting from its wonder as work of art, this would explain something about Pontormo's picture, which is so unprecedented in his work. The *Delphic Sibyl* is the nearest to being a precursor of the unique forms and even the mood of some of the figures in the *Deposition* that I know of in the fifteenth century.

145. For the tension between surface and depth in Michelangelo see Erwin Panofsky, "Die Michelangelo-Literatur seit 1914," *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1921/22, Buchbesprechungen, cols. 6-8.

den creative surge. Yet, while in Pesaro, Bronzino, according to his own testimony in a letter written many years afterward, had worked, probably for some time, with another Raffaellino, this one Raffaellino dal Colle, a former assistant of Raphael.¹⁴⁶ He was thus exposed at the beginning of the thirties to the tradition of Raphael's Roman school represented in a dry and prettied version, and in this way one more ingredient was made available to his art. The question of the effect upon Bronzino of this contact with Raffaellino dal Colle has never to my knowledge been raised, but that it had its effect is surely indicated by such a picture as the Panciatichi *Holy Family* in the Uffizi, painted probably not long after Bronzino's return from Pesaro. The new influence is evident especially in the types of the Christ Child, Saint John, and Saint Joseph, in the draperies of the Virgin, and to some extent in the composition.¹⁴⁷ Raphaelism thus makes its appearance in Bronzino's second period, and its imprint can be found thereafter in other paintings from his hand. It was stimulating and enriching to his style, yet it seems essentially something superimposed upon the earlier fundamental bases of his art and on many occasions, especially in portraits, is not in evidence at all.

Although the influences on which Bronzino's art fed can be thus exposed, as always there remain as wonders its ultimate originality and the integrity of its relationship to the new spirit of its time—that of courtly Florence. Bronzino's style seems, to be sure, more rationally contrived than Pontormo's, and hence it lent itself better to imitation and satisfactory repetition at the hands of others—witness the number of more or less successful Bronzino-like pictures which go about under his name. One might say that to the extent that Pontormo was incorporated into Bronzino's painting, Pontormo became through Bronzino more readily accessible to his time. Meanwhile, it is worth emphasizing that Bronzino's background in Raffaellino del Garbo throws light on two formal characteristics of his mature style which are striking in his century. One can perhaps understand better now why he especially was suited to carry the banner for the trend toward hardened plasticity in contrast to the vital, animate substances of more visual and atmospheric painting, in which the Cinquecento had begun to make such strides; and *also* why throughout his career he continued in habits of additive composition, which were essentially of the Quattrocento and inimical to the coherent, fluent interrelatedness acquired for painting by the High Renaissance. In compositions of the forties, for example, like that of the London *Allegory* Bronzino had arrived at considerable mannerist complexity. Yet the construction of this picture seems based on the piece-by-piece juxtaposition of fundamentally isolated sculptural shapes within an allotted space (and parallel to the picture plane)—as if the outcome were the result of the skillful insertion and final adjustment of the separate parts, rather than of organic growth. The very latest work, the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in San Lorenzo, betrays still the same principles. Judged in relation to the main stream of European painting from the High Renaissance through the next century, these peculiarities represent detours. In Bronzino the predilections *and limitations* of the outgoing Florentine Quattrocento arose to haunt the Cinquecento and its mannerist idiom.

In his later career in the increasingly stifling atmosphere of the Counter Reformation and under the transforming influence of the facile and impersonal Roman decorative styles, with which his trip to Rome in 1546 made him familiar, Bronzino's art, too, grew less personal and lost a little of its local Florentine character as well; and at the same time anticlassicism became finally for him

146. Cf. Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV. XV. XVI.*, Florence, 1839, II, pp. 368-369 and Patzak, *Die Villa Imperiale in Pesaro*, p. 17.

147. Cf. McComb, *Bronzino*, pl. 6. Compare especially the Raphaellesque pictures, recently given to Raffaellino dal Colle by Frederick Hartt, "Raphael and Guilio Romano with Notes on the Raphael School," ART BULLETIN, XXVI, 1944, p.

93; cf. also pp. 73ff. and pp. 83-84.

A full discussion of the results for Bronzino of his contact with this second Raffaellino belong properly to a study of Bronzino's second period, the period which is announced, as I believe, by the Uffizi *Pietà* and which includes Bronzino's activity in Pesaro as well as his work in Florence during most of the thirties. This must be left to another occasion.

something conventional and standard, as it did for others.¹⁴⁸ He entered then in earnest upon an academic, mannered mannerism. For this he had already in his early academic master some startling precedents, as comparison of his *Resurrection* in SS. Annunziata with Raffaellino's *Resurrection* in the Uffizi is perhaps sufficient to suggest.

APPENDIX I

BRONZINO'S APPRENTICESHIP TO PONTORMO

Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 266) says that Pontormo took only Bronzino to assist him at the Certosa in 1522. From this time on during the twenties Pontormo appears to have had no assistants or pupils except Bronzino. The evidence may be summarized as follows.

Aside from Bronzino, there are only four other recorded pupils of Pontormo: Giovanni Antonio Lappoli of Arezzo, Giovanni Maria Pichi from Borgo San Sepolcro, Battista Naldini, and Cristofano dell'Altissimo. Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 281, 452) states that two other painters, Jacopo di Giovanni di Francesco, called Jacone, and Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Domenico Toschi, assisted Pontormo with frescoes in the villa of Careggi, which, however, were executed about 1536 (Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 66), a decade later than the period under consideration. Neither of these men is mentioned elsewhere in connection with Pontormo, and both were recognized as pupils of Andrea del Sarto. (Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 58; VI, pp. 7, 450ff. For a recent illustrated article on Toschi, see O. H. Giglioli, "Affreschi inediti di Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Domenico Toschi," *Bolletino d'arte*, XXXII, 1938, pp. 25ff.).

It is clear that three of the four known pupils were not with Pontormo during the twenties after he withdrew to the Certosa. Not born until 1537 (Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584, p. 618), Naldini was under Pontormo late in the master's career (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 288). Cristofano dell'Altissimo (*ibid.*, VII, p. 608) seems also to have been of a later generation (Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 95; Frederick Mortimer Clapp, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 47 n. 1). Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 7-8) clearly indicates that Lappoli, whom he knew well, had left Pontormo sometime before Pontormo went to the Certosa. Lappoli's later activities, chronicled in some detail by Vasari, are centered in Arezzo and its vicinity, except for a period in Rome (Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 165; VI, pp. 8ff.; Clapp, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 48; B. C. Kreplin, "Lappoli," in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*, XXII, 1928, pp. 377-378; F. Brogi, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della provincia di Siena*, Siena, 1897, pp. 302, 308).

Pichi, the fourth pupil, is twice mentioned by Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 259 and VI, p. 6, where Milanesi confuses him with Giovanni Maria Butteri; cf. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 95, note 19),

who explicitly places him with Pontormo at the same time as Lappoli. In one instance (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 259) just after the discussion of Pontormo's *Holy Family* of San Michele Visdomini, dated 1518, and the *Saint Michael and Saint John* in San Michele at Pontormo (generally accepted as belonging to this time) Vasari introduces Pichi and Lappoli with the words, "in questo tempo." Moreover, in the same passage, Vasari says that he has checked the dating of another of Pontormo's works with Bronzino, "il quale si può credere che di queste cose sappia il vero." In this context of apparently careful and accurate chronology, which evidently concerns solely the period of around 1518 to 1520, Vasari tells how Pontormo so reworked Pichi's painting of *Saint Quentin* that the picture turned out to be mostly Pontormo's. This picture, now in the Museum of Borgo San Sepolcro (cf. C. Gamba, *Il Pontormo*, ed. Piccola collezione d'arte, no. 15, Florence, 1921, pl. 14; O. H. Giglioli, "San Sepolcro," *Città e luoghi d'Italia*, III, Florence, 1921, p. 59, pl. 45) was dated, however, by Clapp in the time of Pontormo's Certosa frescoes of 1522-1524, to which he considered it closely related (Frederick Mortimer Clapp, *On Certain Drawings of Pontormo*, Florence, 1911, p. 13; *idem*, *Les Dessins de Pontormo*, pp. 203-204; *idem*, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 21; on page 106 Clapp also gave the date of the *Saint Quentin* as "about 1526"). This would place Pichi with Pontormo after he went to the Certosa in 1522. As support for his dating Clapp cited the style of the drawing (Uffizi no. 6647^r) which he considered Pontormo's study for the head of Pichi's *Saint Quentin* and which he dated 1522-1525 (*Les Dessins de Pontormo*, pp. 203-204; *Pontormo's Life and Work*, fig. 91). Berenson (*Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, New York, 1903, II, p. 148) thought this drawing and the one on the recto were studies for figures in Santa Felicità and is apparently still of the same mind (*Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, amplified edition, Chicago, 1938, II, p. 290). The sketch in question is so unusual that it is difficult, I feel, to be more certain that it belongs to the years 1522-1525 than a few years earlier, while the drawing on the recto (6647^r), nowhere reproduced, seems to me in the style of drawings for Poggio a Caiano of around 1520, like the famous Uffizi drawing 6685^r (cf. Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, fig. 71). Moreover, 6647^r is not related to any of the Evangelists of Santa Felicità, as Berenson supposed (cf. note 43). As for the painting of *Saint Quentin*, it corresponds much more closely, I think, to

148. For the conventionalizing of anticlassicism, see Briganti, *Il Manierismo*, p. 54.

the style of the Visdomini altar of 1518 (*ibid.*, fig. 13) and to the panels at Pontormo (*ibid.*, figs. 35, 36) than to any works thereafter. It is one with the Visdomini *Holy Family* in the sweet, trivial agony of the face, the affectation of the pose, the figure's parallel relation to the picture plane, and its angular spread, accented by the pronounced, bony hands. Moreover, a certain naturalness to which Pontormo still clings in the Visdomini altarpiece (Walter Friedländer, "Die Entstehung des anticlassischen Stiles in der italienischen Malerei um 1520," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 1925, p. 63) survives in the solid unelongated torso of the nude saint. The whole effect is far from the complex, abstract unreality and deep sincerity of expression in the Certosa frescoes. Both Gamba (*op.cit.*, p. 6 and legend of pl. 14) and Voss ("Pontormo," in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*, XXVII, 1933, p. 251) have, in fact, retained the earlier dating. It does not seem justified, therefore, to alter Vasari's chronology and thereby place the picture in a period when Vasari's statement and the Certosa's records (cf. note 11) shows no one with Pontormo but Bronzino. After the mention of the *Saint Quentin*, Pichi's name never again appears in Vasari. It is likely that by 1522 he, like Lappoli, had ceased for good to be Pontormo's pupil. At Santa Felicita, as Vasari further states, Bronzino was the only one allowed to see or help with the work (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 271-272). In this passage Vasari does stop to mention Pontormo's practice of not letting "his young assistants" touch his own works, but this appears to be an insertion relating to his general practice.

Opinions have differed as to when Bronzino began his apprenticeship to Pontormo. Several indications suggest that it was not before 1519.

(1) In his *Life of Lappoli*, Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 6) tells that Lappoli had attached himself as a student to Pontormo out of enthusiasm for Pontormo's new *Faith and Charity*, just unveiled at SS. Annunziata, and that under Pontormo Lappoli was then spurred on in his efforts by emulation of Pichi (cf. above) and Bronzino, who were also working under Pontormo. Since the *Faith and Charity* was executed between September 1513 and June 1514 (Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, pp. 116, 275), Lappoli must have been with Pontormo, if one follows Vasari, from the latter part of 1514; and, as has been said above, he was apparently still there a little after 1518, and perhaps even later, until sometime before 1522. As for Bronzino, this account actually leaves it unsettled whether he was already with Pontormo when Lappoli arrived, or came into the shop sometime later, although the first impression is that Bronzino and Pichi were with Lappoli from the beginning. In the fall of 1514, however, Bronzino was only eleven (cf. note 17), while Lappoli, according to the birth date given by Milanesi (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 5; source not indicated), was twenty-two, two years older than Pontormo. As Clapp (*Les Dessins de Pontormo*, p. 47 n. 2) suggested, it seems unlikely that Lappoli was being spurred on by Bronzino at such an early date. Since

Bronzino's first works at the Certosa are so little advanced in Pontormo's style, the whole story of how Lappoli emulated Bronzino should probably be considered as occurring much closer to the end of Lappoli's stay with Pontormo, if, indeed, it is not just embroidery added by Vasari to the credit of his friend, Bronzino. Clapp, in fact (*loc.cit.*), sees reason to doubt that Lappoli was with Pontormo so early as Vasari implies, and, according to Fraenkel, Pontormo was still helping Andrea del Sarto in 1516 with the *Baptism* in the Scalzo, despite Vasari's story (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 248) that he had made a break with Andrea earlier (Ingeborg Fraenkel, "Jugendwerke Pontormos," *Festschrift für Walter Friedländer*, 1933 [in manuscript only, copies at New York University Institute of Fine Arts and Kunsthistorisches Institut at Florence], p. 267 note 15). Some of Vasari's details concerning the years 1514-1516 thus seem open to doubt. In any case, at most, the passage in question puts Bronzino in Pontormo's shop at some time before Lappoli left around 1519 to 1522 (cf. above).

(2) The second main indication of the date at which Bronzino became apprenticed to Pontormo is found in Vasari's statement (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 261) that the boy seated on the steps in the foreground of Pontormo's *Joseph in Egypt* at the National Gallery, London (cf. Becherucci, *Manieristi*, pl. 5; Elena Toesca, *Il Pontormo*, Rome, 1943, pls. 6 and 7), is Bronzino, shown when he was a "fanciullo" and Pontormo's disciple. This evidence also leaves something to be desired, since it can give only a *terminus ante quem*, and this, in turn, depends on the date assigned to the panel, which has tended to be determined partly on guesses as to Bronzino's age as he is represented. It is known (Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, p. 163) that the picture cannot have been executed until after 1515, the year of the marriage of Pierfrancesco Borgherini, for whose bridal chamber it was painted. Goldschmidt (*Pontormo, Rosso, Bronzino*, pp. 5, 30) proposed the date 1520 and characterized Bronzino as "a somewhat stunted youth of seventeen." Becherucci (*op.cit.*, p. 43) has recently put the panel as early as "a little after 1515." Most authorities, however, agree with Clapp (*Pontormo's Life and Work*, pp. 21, 159) in placing it about 1518-1519 (cf. Gamba, *Il Pontormo*, legend of pl. 12; Venturi, *Storia*, IX, v, Milan, 1932, p. 86; Ingeborg Fraenkel, *op.cit.*, pp. 264 and 256, where 1518 is accepted for the *Joseph* panels at Panshanger and the National Gallery panel is considered as later than these; Herman Voss, "Pontormo," in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*, XXVII, 1933, p. 250; Toesca, *op.cit.*, p. 10, and Fasola, *op.cit.*, p. 30, are less exact but imply about the same date). A date of 1518-1519 is supported in a general way by the position which the picture holds in Vasari's chronological account of Pontormo's *oeuvre* but more by the fact that, of all Pontormo's early works, the *Joseph in Egypt* comes closest to anticipating the style of the fresco at Poggio a Caiano, executed around 1519-1521 (Clapp, *Pontormo's Life and Work*, pp. 28-29, 174-176). My own inclination is to keep the date of

the panel, and with it the presence of Bronzino in Pontormo's shop, as late as the evidence will bear, say 1519, or even 1520, since Bronzino's first works "of any account" as Pontormo's student, the Certosa lunettes, were not done until Bronzino was about twenty, a late beginning, and show him little imbued with Pontormo's style. Such a dating, moreover, gives time for Bronzino's earlier training under his two previous masters. With one of these he is said to have stayed two years (see text and note 21), and he was with the other long enough to have been influenced fundamentally, as appears in the present article.

(3) It is quite possible, I think, that corroboration for assuming the latest feasible date for Bronzino's arrival in Pontormo's shop is to be found in the passage in Vasari concerning Pichi and Lappoli (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 259-260), discussed above. As mentioned there, from its context this passage appears to concern only the period immediately following the Visdomini altar of 1518. It is of interest, then, that Vasari's wording here seems to imply that Pichi and Lappoli were Pontormo's only pupils at the time. He writes, "*In questo tempo l'uno di due giovani che stavano con*

Iacopo, cioè Giovanmaria Pichi dal Borgo a San Sepolcro . . . dipinse, stando, dico, ancora con Iacopo . . . un San Quintino. . . ." Then, turning from Pichi to Lappoli, Vasari continues, "*L'altro dei due Giovanni*, il quale fu Giovann' Antonio Lappoli aretino . . . avendo . . . ritratto sè stesso nello specchio, mentre anch' egli ancora si stava con Iacopo. . . ." Milanesi notes (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 259 n. 3) that editors who have read "giovani" here instead of "Giovanni" are perhaps correct, and, in fact, a play on the word "Giovanni" in reference to the first names of Pichi and Lappoli is out of character for Vasari. The substitution of "giovani," on the other hand, makes sense as referring back to "l'uno di due giovani." The emphasis on the number "two" seems to indicate that it was definitely in Vasari's mind that only Pichi and Lappoli were with Pontormo at the time of the episodes described, i.e. in 1518 or shortly after. This evidence suggests, though perhaps in slender fashion, a *terminus post quem* for Bronzino's arrival in Pontormo's shop and thus provides a little added support for placing his arrival around 1519, or even 1520.

APPENDIX II

THE RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO PROBLEM

The justification for the various divisions of Garbo has been found in the fact that for three of the works listed by Vasari as Raffaellino del Garbo's and for several others related in style the signatures or connected documents show the name Raphael in combination with several cognomens other than Garbo: Raffaele de' Carli (for the occurrences of this name cf. notes 28 and 29), Raphael de Capponibus, and Raphael de Florentia. The name Raphael de Florentia appears on an alterpiece of the *Madonna and Saints* in Siena (cf. Carlo Gamba, "Dipinti ignoti di Raffaello Carli," *Rassegna d'arte*, VII, 1907, figure on p. 105), but this painting is conceded by present divisionists to be in the style of pictures which they give to Carli. The name Raphael de Capponibus occurs on a *Madonna and Saints* of 1500 in the Uffizi (Fig. 13), and this picture is likewise now identified by divisionists as Carli's on the basis of the style. Only Garbo and Carli are left, and the evidence surely does not sanction keeping them apart.

The outstanding point in the documentary material, as recorded by Milanesi (cf. Vasari-Milanesi, IV, pp. 233-253 in the notes and commentary), is the fact that on the evidence of one source Garbo must have been the same person as the Raphael de Capponibus whose name appears on the Uffizi *Madonna and Saints*, dated 1500 (Fig. 13) (cf. Milanesi's note, *ibid.*, p. 234, stating that in the Matricola dell' Arte de' Medici e Speciali, November 15, 1499, there is listed *Raphael Bartolomei Nicolai Capponi pictor nel Garbo*), while according to another source Raffaele de' Carli had been adopted at an early age by the Capponi fam-

ily and was, therefore, in actual fact de Capponibus (*ibid.*, pp. 250ff.). This seems a case of things equal to the same thing being equal to each other. Moreover, Carli is a family name and del Garbo a nickname, from the street where the painter had a shop (cf. note 59), so that the one does not exclude the other. In addition, there is secondary support for identifying Carli with Garbo in other often-mentioned documentary indications. (See the summaries of the documentary material in the bibliography cited in note 25, especially in the articles by Gronau and in Miss Neilson's chapter. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1903, I, pp. 94-95, and *Drawings*, 1938, I, pp. 118-119, concedes that Garbo and the Raphael de Capponibus of the Uffizi *Madonna and Saints* of 1500 (Fig. 13) must be the same person but nevertheless finds the Uffizi painting to be in Carli's style. To maintain the separation of Garbo and Carli, he concludes that the picture was executed by Carli and signed by Garbo. Nonetheless, the authorities at the Uffizi, among others, have belonged to the anti-divisionist camp for some time. Cf. *The Catalogue of the Paintings, the Uffizi Gallery*, Florence, 1927, p. 34, no. 3165, where the painting is listed as "Raffaellino Carli or dei Capponi called del Garbo.")

As most critics now agree, Vasari's evidence must be given weight, for he never mentions a Raffaele de' Carli or Raphael de Capponibus and obviously knew only Raffaellino del Garbo as the author of the works he lists as his. He was in Florence just early enough to have known of Raffaellino before the latter's death in 1524, the year given by Vasari (cf. note 76 above), and, as Vasari says, Raffaellino had pupils and a son who were Vasari's contemporaries. Of the pupils, Vasari indicates that the most important was Bronzino,

whom Vasari states he himself already knew in 1524 (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 605) and whom he certainly consulted during the writing of the *Lives* (*ibid.*, VI, p. 259). In addition, Vasari not only admired and owned drawings by Raffaellino (*ibid.*, IV, p. 235; the drawing in the British Museum for Garbo's *Resurrection* once belonged to Vasari: cf. Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, I, p. 119, and III, fig. 260), but his account of him shows that he was really interested in the phenomenon of Raffaellino's strange development. What has not been brought out and yet seems a convincing indication that Vasari was right is the fact that, although eighteen years elapsed between the first edition of Vasari's *Lives* in 1550 and the second, and although for the second edition Vasari not only rewrote but greatly enlarged Raffaellino's story and added ten more pictures, the main points of his account of Raffaellino are the same in both. In fact, in the earlier edition he had already listed the two paintings with Carli signatures, now in Sarasota and Washington, and had used them as the chief examples of Garbo's decline, which is the keynote of his account. Had Vasari actually been wrong in mixing Garbo and Carli, one would think he would have discovered the mistake himself when he went into Raffaellino's life so much more deeply for the second edition or, at least, that during the eighteen years between editions some one who knew would have seen the error and told him. Bronzino, in any case, probably perused Vasari's Life of Raffaellino with true interest: he is referred to there in glowing terms, and it is the only place in the first edition where he gets a mention, as a quick hunt in the index should have shown him.

As to style, the evidence against dividing Garbo into Garbo and Carli is less easily summarized, because the question certainly is complex and difficult—as one can gather from the fact that Berenson, who has been the most sensitive in recognizing new works of Garbo-Carli authorship, has nevertheless remained convinced of separate identities. Yet as with the documents, so with the works of art, it is first of all unavoidable even for the divisionist that stylistically Garbo and Carli quite clearly merge in several pictures. (I.e. the Louvre *Coronation*, Nielson, *Filippino Lippi*, fig. 100, given by Berenson to Carli under Garbo's influence; the Fiesole *Annunciation*, *ibid.*, fig. 105 and Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 291, attributed by Berenson to Garbo with Carli, as cited in note 69; or the Uffizi *Madonna and Saints* of 1500 [Fig. 13], which one may compare with the *Resurrection* on the Garbo side and the two pictures with Carli signatures on the other.) Moreover, detailed similarities in facial expressions and features,

hands and feet, poses, tricks and rhythms of drapery, and details of setting, thread through the Garbo-Carli *oeuvre* or overlap each other from one work to the next, cutting back and forth across the Garbo-Carli boundary. (Pictures are thus brought together which are as seemingly far apart as the *Pietà* in Munich, Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, fig. 287, and the painting of *Saint Gualberto Enthroned with Saints*, in Vallambrosa, of 1508, *ibid.*, fig. 289. The first of these is always accepted as Garbo's, although unique in many ways even in the most limited Garbo catalogue, and the second belongs to the so-called Carli group but incidentally is a good example for Vasari's report of Garbo's lack of effort in his later works.) In general the Umbrianizing style does belong to the Carli works, but it loses significance as a difference between painters the more one concentrates on the striking shifts of manner within the separated Garbo and Carli groups themselves. Moreover, the differences which have been found to exist between Garbo and Carli are not strong enough to prevent a few objects from having to be changed from Carli to Garbo and Garbo to Carli in accordance with whether they appear too good for Carli or too poor for Garbo. (Cf. Heinrich Bodmer *Old Master Drawings*, IV, 1929-30, p. 36. Bodmer, a fellow divisionist, disputes with Berenson over a drawing which the latter gave to Carli but which Bodmer stoutly claims for Garbo on its merit. Cf. also Berenson, *Drawings*, 1938, II, p. 80, drawing no. 771A. Here a drawing given to Carli in the 1903 edition is switched to Garbo because it seemed too fine for Carli.) In the end, difference in quality appears to have been the final criterion for sifting Carli's work from Garbo's, the very distinction which Vasari himself made long ago between early and late Garbo.

Vasari deplored Raffaellino's decline, with its wane in creative vitality and careless execution. It seems to have held a certain fascination for him, but he never saw it and its various accompanying phenomena as foreshadowing the plight of painting in his own generation. Raffaellino is a clear example of a tendency which can be detected in some others of his time. The negative side of sixteenth century mannerism in Florence (its academicism and decay) was apparently anticipated to a certain extent earlier, just as modern criticism (cf. note 144) considers mannerism's positive anticlassicism to have been. Perhaps it would not be simplifying the matter too much to say that anticlassicism's extravagance and departures from nature provided the negative strain with ideal possibilities for development.



FIG. 16. Raffaellino del Garbo, *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, detail. Sarasota, Ringling Art Museum



FIG. 17. Bronzino, *Pieta*. Florence, Uffizi



FIG. 18. Raffaellino del Garbo, *Annunciation*, detail. Fiesole, San Francesco



FIG. 19. (a) Detail of Figure 12. (b) Detail of Figure 13



FIG. 20. (a) Style of Raffaellino del Garbo, *Madonna and Child Appearing to Four Saints*, detail. Florence, Uffizi; (b) Raffaellino del Garbo, *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail. Paris, Louvre



FIG. 1. Heemskerk(?), St. Peter's, transept, drawing. Stockholm, National Museum, Collection Anckarvård, no. 637

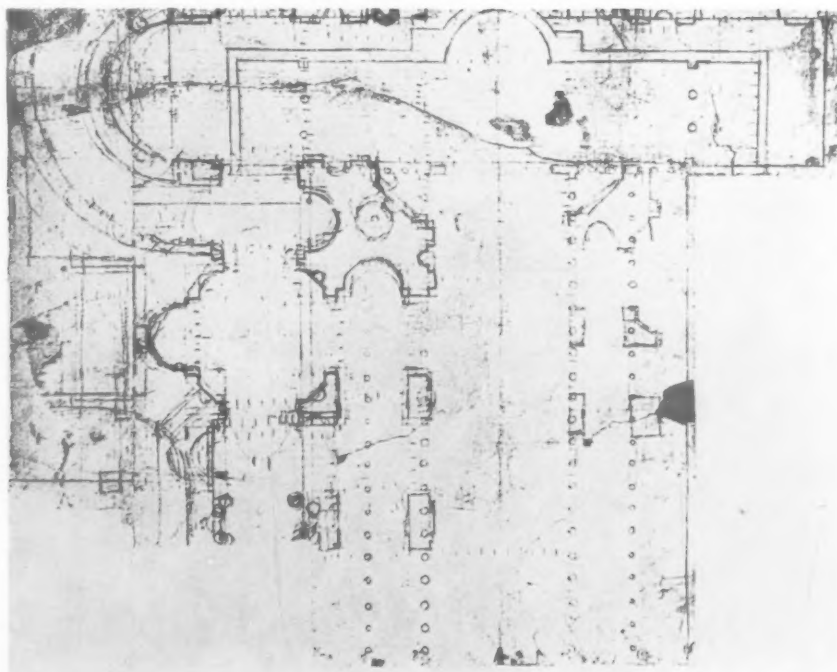


FIG. 2. Bramante(?), Plan of St. Peter's, detail. Florence, Uffizi (dis. arch. 20)

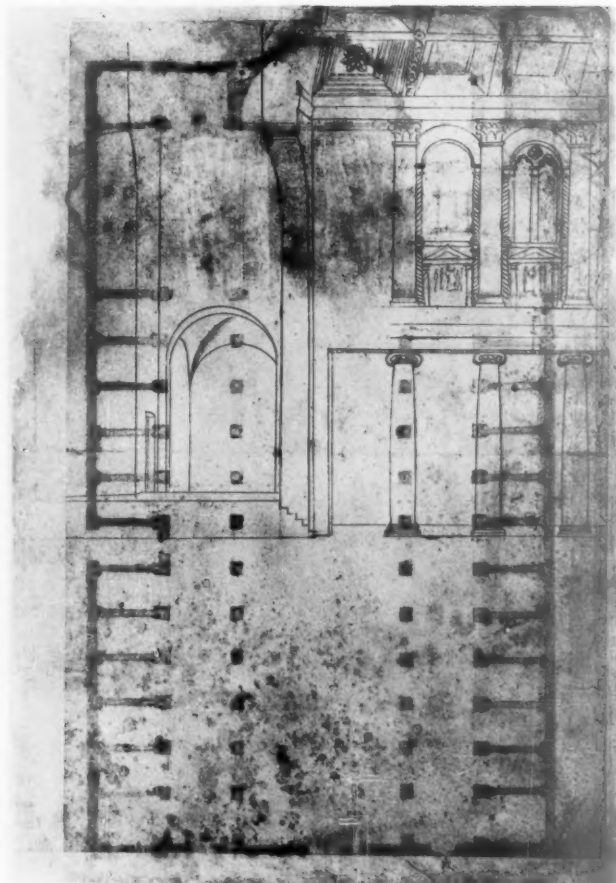


FIG. 3. Anonymous, Early Sixteenth Century, S. Maria Maggiore, elevation, drawing. Rome, Vatican Library (cod. vat. lat. 11257, 185^v)

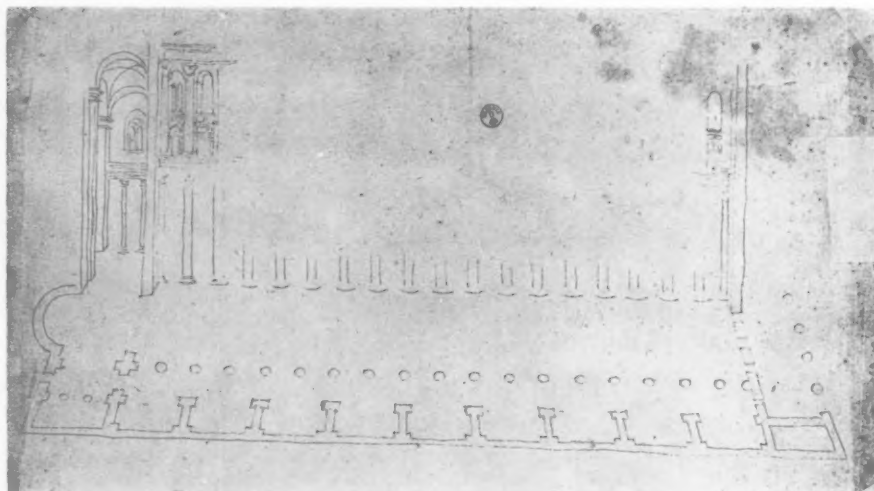


FIG. 4. Anonymous, Late Fifteenth Century, S. Maria Maggiore, plan and elevation, drawing. Florence, Uffizi (dis. arch. 1864A)

NOTES

SOME DRAWINGS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICAS IN ROME: ST. PETER'S AND S. MARIA MAGGIORE

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER

I

The National Museum in Stockholm owns a most remarkable collection of architectural drawings, approximately twenty thousand in number. The bulk was gathered in the eighteenth century on study trips to France and Italy by three Swedish architects: Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Carl Hårleman, and Count Johan Cronstedt.¹ This group is supplemented by two smaller collections, likewise in the custody of the National Museum and named after the former owners, d'Anckarvård and Celsing. Together the drawings fall into different categories: sketches and projects by Tessin, Hårleman, and Cronstedt; original drawings by their famous contemporaries in France such as Le Notre, Le Brun, and Audran; innumerable copies by these Swedish architects after projects by the outstanding architects of their days, among them the maquettes of Bernini's drawings for the Louvre,² copies after what seems a Bernini project for the Spanish Stairs,³ and after Juvara; and surveys of exemplary buildings in France and Italy. Intermingled with these are a number of older drawings and Roman *vedute* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With few exceptions the bulk of this material still awaits publication.

Vedute, more often than not, are only of antiquarian interest, but one of those in Stockholm⁴ represents a notable exception. It shows the interior of the transept of the Constantinian basilica of Old St. Peter's, half torn down, and the crossing of the new church rising amidst the ruins (Fig. 1). The state of both the old and the new building dates the sketch roughly in the period of Antonio Sangallo the Younger's activity as architect of St. Peter's, 1520-1546. But the date can

be determined with greater precision. The subject matter and the signature point either to Marten van Heemskerck, the Dutchman who, as is well known, spent the years from 1532 to 1535 in Rome, or else to a copyist or a follower who used a signature similar to his. The hundreds of sketches made during his stay and possibly soon spread by copyists, minute and monumental as they are, are a mine of information on the Roman, Early Christian, and Renaissance buildings and on the sculpture collections of the city. The bulk of these drawings is contained in the two volumes of a sketchbook, belonging to the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.⁵

The Stockholm drawing supplements the other existing drawings of Old and New St. Peter's as it appeared in the mid-thirties of the sixteenth century.⁶ It is closely linked to Heemskerck's views of the exterior of the building and, in particular, to the sketch of the interior of the nave in the Berlin sketchbook.⁷ Its special value lies in that it is the first known view of the interior of the transept. Heretofore, this part of the old church had been known only from descriptions and from a few rare plans such as Bramante's(?) of 1508 (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 20; Fig. 2) and Alpharans' of 1571.⁸

When drawing the Stockholm sketch, the draughtsman had taken a position in the right, that is in the north wing of the old transept, slightly east of its main axis and with his back close to the terminating north wall. Looking south, he saw immediately in the foreground the two columns and the right pilaster of the "screen" which partitioned off the outer end from the main part of this transept wing, and above these supports the triple architrave of an entablature, similar to that of the old nave (Berlin sketchbook, II, 52^r). The upper partition wall, which rose from this entablature (Berlin sketchbook, I, 13^r, 15^r) he could not see. The shafts of the columns are of dark speckled stone, possibly syenite or *giallo antico*. Their capitals are both composite, but they seem to differ one from another.⁹ Beyond the "screen" through the right intercolumna-

1. R. Josephson, *Tessin*, 2 vols. (Sveriges Almäna Konsthistorisk Förenings Publikation, xxxviii, xxxix), Stockholm, 1930-31, *passim*; E. Langenskiöld and C. D. Moselius, *Architekturritningar . . . ur Carl Johan Cronstedts Fullerösamling* (Nationalmusei Utställingskatalog, 79) Stockholm, 1942.

2. Josephson, *op.cit.*, *passim*, and *idem*, "Les Maquettes du Bernin pour le Louvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 5, xvii, 1928, pp. 77ff.

3. Langenskiöld and Moselius, *op.cit.*, p. 86 (no. 406); Josephson, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 51ff.

4. Anckarvårds Collection, no. 637; pen and wash on white paper; 200 x 275 mm.

5. H. Egger and Ch. Hülsen, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher des Marten van Heemskerck*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1913 and 1916 (quoted as Berlin sketchbook); Leon Preibisz, *Marten van Heemskerck*, Leipzig, 1911, considers all monograms except M as imitations, especially those containing a K. The form closest to the Stockholm drawing occurs in the Berlin sketch-

book, fol. 5^v.

6. View of new crossing and north end of old transept from northeast, Berlin sketchbook, I, 13^r; same from north, *ibid.*, I, 15^r; view from south end of transept, *ibid.*, II, 54^r; view of old and new structures from south, *ibid.*, II, 51^r; façade of atrium, *ibid.*, II, 52^v.

7. Berlin sketchbook, II, 52^r. Egger-Hülsen, *op.cit.*, II, p. 32, have attributed this last and other drawings in the Berlin sketchbook and elsewhere to an anonymous copyist of Heemskerck, active between 1540 and 1550 (Anonymous A). The Stockholm drawing is so close to this group, especially to the drawing in Berlin, II, 52^r, that it must be by the same hand.

8. M. Cerrati, *Tiberii Alpharani De Basilicae Vaticanae . . . structura* (Studi e Testi, 26), Rome, 1914.

9. Two of these shafts were transferred, so it seems, to the Piazza del Popolo in 1592; *ibid.*, p. 8 and n. 1.

tion, appeared the rear wall of the old transept almost to its full height. Two Gothic canopies lean against it. Above them one notes, along with the Gothic coat of arms of a bishop, remnants of murals in two tiers, much like those in the nave (Berlin sketchbook, II, 52^r) and one of the transept windows with its tracery.

The corresponding left wing of the old transept appears just opposite the point where the draughtsman had taken up his position. For in the background, and just to the right of the left-hand column in front of him, he saw the partition wall between the main and the outer part of the left transept wing: one composite column, like those in the right "screen"; a fully developed entablature with tendril frieze and cornice; finally the upper wall covered with the usual series of murals. Higher up, one distinguishes the sill and right jamb of a large window. Of the old nave just a pitiful remnant is visible in the middle ground, through the left intercolumnation of the partition screen behind which the draughtsman stood while sketching. One sees the capital of the last column in the south colonnade of the nave, its entablature and the remnant of the terminating T-pier. Somewhat to the fore rises the spiral column, now in the chapel of Michelangelo's *Pietà*, the last of the twelve which formed a double colonnaded iconostasis in the transept at quite some distance from the old apse. It is surrounded by a grille and thus singled out as the "Columna sancta una ex 12 e Salomonis Templo," as Alpharansus marked it on his plan (no. 25).¹⁰

All these remnants of the old basilica seem almost lost among the gigantic fragments of the new structure. One pilaster of the monumental northeast crossing pier, as erected by Bramante in 1508-1510, appears in the very foreground, at the left edge of the drawing. But beyond the colonnade of the old nave, in the middle ground rises the southeast pier of the crossing, complete with lower and upper niches, corner pilasters, entablature and pendentive, as erected by Bramante in 1508-1510. The barrel vault which leads from the crossing to the south arm of the new church, is in place. Underneath, behind the partition wall of the south transept of Old St. Peter's, rise the southeast counter pier of this arm and the lower parts of the south apse which Antonio Sangallo the Younger had designed and begun. They are the parts one sees from the outside in a Heemskerck sketch (Berlin sketchbook, II, 54^r) and which were demolished by Michelangelo after 1548. Inside the new building, in the middle ground, rises the aedicula which Bramante had designed to protect the tomb of Saint Peter; a large arcaded structure on piers with an engaged Tuscan order and a panelled attic,¹¹ it projected from the rear wall of the old transept.

So far the Stockholm drawing would simply appear to complement what we know of St. Peter's, both the old basilica and the new structure. Still, the drawing is not entirely an antiquarian trouvaille; for it con-

tains at least one element which gives quite a new insight into the plan of Constantine's old church. Next to the pilaster of the new northeast crossing pier and almost covered by it, at the left edge of the drawing, the draughtsman noted a column with a Corinthian capital. At first glance one is reminded of the pairs of large columns which in the plan of New St. Peter's of 1508 (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 20; Fig. 2) had been designed to stand in front of the four crossing piers. This supposition appears, indeed, strengthened by the observation that a protecting roof projects from the crossing pier just above the column in the Stockholm drawing. But the hypothesis does not hold. The column in question is much too weak and too low to correspond to the giant supports which Bramante had sketched on Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 20. Moreover, these supports had never been executed. On the other hand, the column in the Stockholm drawing appears to correspond in height exactly to those in the south colonnade of the old nave just opposite. Also, the triple architrave above runs against what appears to be the remnants of the T-pier at the end of the north colonnade of the nave. In brief, the column seems to stand in the opening between the first north aisle and the north transept wing and seems to belong to Old St. Peter's.

Columns in this place are not mentioned in any description of Old St. Peter's nor are they marked on Alpharansus' plan from which most later reconstructions are derived. Indeed, Alpharansus clearly denied their existence: in the text he maintained that the aisles opened toward the transept in arches corresponding to the triumphal arch of the nave.¹² But though their existence has never been pointed out, the columns do appear on the plan of Old St. Peter's, Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 20: two of them stand in each of the openings which between T-piers lead from the four aisles into the transept (Fig. 2). They are marked as having approximately the same diameter as those of the nave colonnades, 4½ to 5½ feet. Evidently, spaced as they are, their distances would be somewhat smaller than the intercolumnations of the nave, approximately 6 as against 8 feet. And, witness the Stockholm drawing, their Corinthian capitals and entablatures would likewise tally with those of the nave colonnades. Thus two columns rose in the opening of each of the four aisles, impeding access to the transept and segregating the transept as a structural element from the rest of the basilica.

I don't want to seem pedantic, but these columns are, indeed, an element of importance in the much needed reconstruction of Old St. Peter's. The results of the recent excavations underneath the nave and apse are likely to provide the indispensable solid basis for such reconstruction. Combined with them, the Stockholm sketch allows for a more precise concept of what the old structure looked like and explains a number of hitherto inexplicable points, minor and major.

10. Alpharansus, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

11. See also Berlin sketchbook, II, 52^r.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

It explains, to begin with, a famous passage in Gregory of Tours' description of St. Peter's in which the Frankish historian says that around 590 he saw four columns "in altario," that is, in Gregory's parlance, in the transept, and 96 columns in the nave. The four rows of columns in the nave were each composed of but 22 columns, making a total of 88. On the other hand, the eight columns in the openings of the aisles toward the transept raise the total number of columns in the nave from 88 to 96, the very figure given by Gregory. Combined with the four columns in the transept, that is, the columns supporting the partition screens at its ends, the total number throughout the church resulted, indeed, in exactly one hundred columns, the mystical number on which Gregory's imagination doted.

Again, the columns in the openings of the aisles, with their architraves, explain the occurrence of a similar motif in a number of Carolingian basilicas in Rome: at S. Prassede and Sto. Stefano degli Abessini one single column occupies the opening of each aisle toward the transept. The dependence of these churches on Old St. Peter's has been suggested before. The newly discovered motif of the columns in the openings of the aisles at St. Peter's confirm this connection and add another point to the dependence on the great Constantinian basilica of Carolingian architecture in Rome and elsewhere.¹³

Lastly the motif of these columns is of primary importance for the architectural analysis of Old St. Peter's and of Constantinian basilicas as a whole. The function of these columns which shut off the aisles from the transept and thus isolated the latter, stressed not only the separate and segregated position of the transept which houses the saint's tomb but they also emphasize its character as a memorial site, in contrast to the nave which is but a "congregational hall."¹⁴ Detail, as they are, the columns in the openings of the aisles of Old St. Peter's are of major importance in interpreting the Constantinian basilicas in Rome and perhaps elsewhere.

II

In July 1948 Dr. Augusto Campana of the Vatican Library was good enough to call my attention to two plans of Roman churches which he had found among the papers of Monsignore Virgilio Spada (1596-1662). This learned prelate,¹⁵ a contemporary and friend of Borromini's, was greatly interested in architecture and, so it seems, dabbled in the field in a more or less dilettante way. At any rate, he acted evidently as an adviser on architectural questions to Pope Innocent X and to the entire Doria-Pamfili family. No wonder

then that the two volumes of architectural drawings preserved among his papers are of major importance. They were described and summarily analyzed by Cardinal Ehrle and contain: a group of sketches executed by professional contemporaries, among them the well-known drawings of Borromini and Felice della Greca for the Lateran, the only ones published of the entire collection;¹⁶ and finally, a few older drawings which Spada must have kept for some reason. Among these latter are the two plans in question. They are drawn in ink and sepia wash on yellow-white paper and are marked with the principal measurements of the buildings. One is the plan of "santa savina," S. Sabina on the Aventine, prior to the alterations executed under Sixtus V and thus shows the church almost as it appears now, after the restoration in 1924. The other plan is that of "ara ciely," S. Maria in Araceli, as it is today but for the two apses at the transept ends—an addition which was never executed but which is interesting as a project, since it adds one more to the number of late Quattrocento trefoil plans in Rome, the best known of which are S. Agostino or S. Maria del Popolo. Both drawings from their style and their handwriting must have been done in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century.

On the verso of the plan of S. Maria in Araceli, I found, drawn in ink, the longitudinal section of a church: three bays of the nave, the transept and the apse (Fig. 3).¹⁷ The building was not hard to identify; the architrave, the pilasters of the clerestory, the aediculas with figurative mosaics below the windows, the sumptuous coffered ceiling, the measurements inscribed on the elevation, all pointed clearly to the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill as it appeared prior to the late sixteenth century.

One remembers the history of the church in its general outlines.¹⁸ The masonry of the foundation and upper walls leaves no doubt that the nave and aisles in their entirety, including the triumphal arch, were erected shortly before or by Sixtus III (432-440) and were decorated during his pontificate with the sumptuous mosaics which cover them to this day. The apse, which originally joined the triumphal arch, was destroyed and the present transept and apse were added under Nicholas IV (1288-1292). Between 1461 and 1483 the transept and aisles were covered with groin vaults; between 1491 and 1498 the large coffered ceiling was thrown across the nave. A thorough restoration under Cardinal Domenico Pinelli, about 1593, created the present decoration of the nave, saving only the Early Christian mosaic panels. Finally, terminating his work in 1750, Ferdinando Fuga redesigned the

13. R. Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 1ff.

14. A. Grabar, *Martyrium, recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, I (Architecture), Paris, 1946, pp. 297ff.

15. F. Ehrle, "Dalle carte e dai disegni di Virgilio Spada," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, ser. 3, *Memorie*, II, 1928, 14. The plans were inventoried by Ehrle as "Disegni diversi."

16. E. Hempel, *Francesco Borromini*, Vienna, 1924, pp. 94ff.

17. 30 x 44 cm., waterlines, no mark. Dr. Jacob Hess of the Vatican Library was good enough to check the measurements.

18. A. Schuchert, *S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, I, Città del Vaticano, 1939; R. Krautheimer, "Recent Publications on S. Maria Maggiore in Rome," *American Journal of Archeology*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 373ff.

colonnade of the nave and the decoration of both aisles and erected a sumptuous façade towards the Piazza.

The general outlines of the fifth century basilica are still preserved beneath all these transformations: the long rows of columns carrying their architraves; the clerestory walls with their wide windows, originally one to each intercolumnation; and the mosaic panels between architrave and windows with their stories from Abraham through Joshua. Even the pilasters between the windows of the clerestory are original, containing a core of brickwork which forms part of the original wall of the clerestory. Above the pilasters the remnants of a terminating stucco frieze are preserved in places. Thus, the organization and decoration of the clerestory forms part and parcel of the fifth century structure.

This early state of the building, as it existed until 1593, had been known before through two drawings in Florence:¹⁹ a large combined plan and section (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 1864A), perhaps late fifteenth century; and a hasty plan from the hand of Sallustio Peruzzi (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 660A) which bears near the bottom a small sketch of the clerestory. But neither of these is quite reliable. The large drawing (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 1864A; Fig. 4) is apparently a project for a remodeling and thus changes the actual design of the church in a number of features. It diminishes the number of columns, adds chapels to the aisles, places pilasters below the groin vaults of the transept and partitions off the ends of each transept wing by two columns carrying an architrave. All these features are, so it seems, intended to redesign S. Maria Maggiore along the lines of Old St. Peter's as planned under Nicholas V, 1447-1455, and as described in Manetti's "Life of Nicholas V" and preserved in the plan of its choir and transept on Bramante's sketch (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 20), a project which had quite some influence on church design in Rome in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁰ Obviously, despite these changes, the drawing Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 1864A is more or less correct in reproducing the main features of S. Maria Maggiore. The most important of these features are the clerestory with its articulating pilasters and below the windows, a series of aediculae with alternating triangular and segmental gables sheltering the mosaic panels. But details and proportions are unclear, including the shape and height of the supports that flank the aediculae.

This same lack of clarity holds of the smaller drawing (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 660A). True, one recognizes the capitals of the colonnade, the triple architrave, the pilasters of the clerestory, the mosaic panels and the aediculae with their alternating gables, the windows flanked by supports and headed by an archivolt, and finally the terminating frieze. But again, the details are anything but clear. The capitals of the columns might be Ionic as well as Corinthian; the supports of

the aediculae remain undefined; the design of the windows is unclear. After all, the drawing is but an *aide-mémoire*, intelligible only to somebody who knew the building, and the explanatory notes, "columna 20 di marmo, cipollino e di saligno," "cāpāile," "di musaico," are just as important as the sketch.

In contrast to the two Uffizi drawings, the drawing in the Vatican Library clarifies the elevation of the structure down to the last detail. This is, no doubt, in part due to the fact that the drawing is so exceedingly poor. Obviously it was done neither by a professional architect nor builder but by a dilettante. If it is by an architect he must have been a clumsy and pedantic, but for this very reason an extremely meticulous, member of the profession. The draughtsman did *not* know how to handle perspective, nor was he all too sure about his over-all proportions but he could put down on paper the survey of the building so that no mistake could occur.

This is exactly what he did. The columns rest on Ionic bases and carry Ionic, not Corinthian capitals. The bases are set on low plinths, 4 feet long, quite different from the bases and dados from which the columns rise today and which were inserted below the supports as late as 1750. Likewise, the capitals, while clearly Ionic, are low and squat and differ widely from the elegant eighteenth century capitals which now rest upon the shafts. The architrave seems to have consisted of three plain bands, totaling nearly 6 feet in height. From its cornice the pilasters rise along the clerestory, not thin and slender as the two drawings in the Uffizi indicate, but somewhat squat, as in reality they are, and nearly filling the distances between the windows, their height equaling exactly that of the columns. Their bases and capitals are clearly shown; the former low and plain and quite different from the elegant sixteenth century design, with dados underneath, which they affect today, and the latter simply Corinthian. The flutings which both the draughtsman of Uffizi 1864A and Sallustio Peruzzi saw on these pilasters—they must have been of stucco—were, so it seems, of little significance to the draughtsman of the Vatican drawing. Between the pilasters, the aediculae which house the mosaic panels are minutely indicated; the flanking supports are short pilasters with low heavy capitals; the pediments are composed of architrave and raking cornices. There is no doubt as to these details; only the alternation of triangular and segmental gables, clear in both the Uffizi drawings, is barely indicated. On either side, the aediculae are flanked by higher supports which lean against the tall pilasters of the clerestory. But these supports are not pilasters nor are they three-quarters high as suggested by the large drawing, Uffizi *dis. arch.* 1864A (Fig. 4); they are spiral colonnettes and they terminate with plain capitals exactly at the level of the window sills. Rising from this level

19. A. Bartoli, *I Monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, Florence, 1915, I, pl. II, fig. 3; IV, pl. CCCLXXVI, fig. 650.

20. R. Krautheimer, "S. Pietro in Vincoli and the Tri-

partite Transept in the Early Christian Basilica," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXIV, 1941, pp. 353ff.

another pair of spiral columns, with similar capitals, flanks the window and supports its archivolt, a broad undecorated band. The spirals of the four colonnettes complement each other; they alternate in clockwise and counterclockwise movements, those below sloping downward and inward, those above upward and inward, as it were. The terminating two-partite frieze and the coffered ceiling on the Vatican drawing are, of course, those designed in the 1490's, at the expense of Alexander VI Borgia.

All this helps, no doubt, in creating a clear picture of what S. Maria Maggiore looked like in the fifth century, down to the last detail. But as the individual pieces of the puzzle fall into place, the concept of Early Christian art, as we are carrying it along, begins to change. The wide long nave of S. Maria Maggiore, terminated as it was by the triumphal arch and by a plain semicircular apse and flanked by the aisles, turns into an elegant, yet powerful, monumental architecture. The dense row of columns and their plain heavy architrave form, as it were, a lower order: the pilasters of the clerestory repeat the same rhythm a second time, though richer and more complicated. Indeed, between their clearly articulating verticals appear smaller orders, subordinate to them not only in height but also in depth: two orders of spiral colonnettes recede from the main pilasters and even farther back rise the smaller pilasters of the aediculae and their pediments. Thus pilasters, colonnettes, and aediculae follow each other with decreasing height and decreasing strength, leading into the depth of the mosaic panels. A similar sequence leads, higher up, into the depth of the windows. Within the over-all design, the wall plane plays no role; it is replaced by a rich and strongly sculptural membering, classical in vocabulary and character, comparable to the solid design of Roman imperial architecture. On the other hand, this membering leads into a depth of infinite extension regardless of whether this infinity was hinted at by the cloudy mica panels of the windows or by the gold ground of the mosaics deep back in the aediculae and overshadowed by their pediments. The rich colors of the mosaics and the light, dimly broken by the windows, would glow from this depth and one wonders whether the stucco of the membering was plain white or whether it was gilded or otherwise colored.

Certainly this picture of S. Maria Maggiore differs from that generally accepted for the "typical" Early Christian basilica. It does not conform to structures such as S. Sabina, with their light, thin walls resting on wide arcaded colonnades and covered with a purely surface decoration. S. Maria Maggiore, on the contrary, is solid and massive, designed along structural lines and marked by a decided reversion to a "classical" vocabulary and a "classical" spirit. Nor is this style—shall we call it "neoclassical"?—in the second third of the fifth century limited to S. Maria Maggiore. In

Rome itself the Baptistry of the Lateran, erected contemporaneously with S. Maria Maggiore and known in its original design from fifteenth and sixteenth century drawings and engravings, fits into the same stylistic framework: eight porphyry columns carry an architrave, from which rose a clerestory and a dome; the windows were marked off by strong stucco mouldings, pilasters articulated the corners of the room and the incrustation of the wall; and, as in S. Maria Maggiore, these sculptural elements were embedded into and framed a rich coloristic pattern. Other buildings belong to the same group: the small oratory of S. Croce in the Lateran (461-468) and even Sto. Stefano Rotondo (468-483), with its original design of pilasters articulating the marble incrustation of the upper wall rising above the Ionic columns and their architrave.

Where this style comes from, whether it is limited to Rome, and if in Rome, to a limited group of buildings—none of these questions can be answered quickly. For the moment it is enough to realize from the Vatican drawing what a fifth century basilica in Rome could look like.

VASSAR COLLEGE

THE ACCLAMATION SCENE ON THE DOORS OF SANTA SABINA*

RICHARD DELBRUECK

The scene under consideration has been interpreted by E. H. Kantorowicz—erroneously, it seems to me—as the *Advent* of the Kyrios.¹

Our panel is divided into two main sections by a horizontal ground-ridge placed slightly below the center; the lower section is similarly divided into two registers slightly unequal in height, with the larger at the top. The whole width of the topmost section is occupied by a *cella*, seen from an angle to the view. A chlamys-clad figure, in attitude of prayer, stands before the open entrance side of the *cella*, while a winged angel points toward the *chlamydatus* from his standing position in front of the adjoining side. The upper story of two richly-decorated towers rise above the *cella* roof; between them, apparently on the ridge-pole, stands a jeweled cross. In the lower half of the panel, the upper register contains three *togati*, the lower, three *paenulati* acclaiming the *chlamydatus* with raised arms and up-turned faces. In scale, the *chlamydatus* and the angel are larger than the acclaiming figures; of these, the *paenulati* are somewhat smaller than the *togati*. Through the cross, the angel, and the praying attitude of the *chlamydatus*, the *cella* is shown to be a place of Christian worship—if only a small ora-

* For the translation of this article, I am greatly indebted to the kindness of Mrs. Barbara Sessions.

1. "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the

Doors of Santa Sabina," ART BULLETIN, XXVI, 1944, pp. 207-231.

tory, or a church represented in simplified terms appropriate to the reduced scale. The towers could belong to the monumental turret-system of the gate to a town or a palace. Since in late antique art, the distribution of objects over the picture plane can be to a certain extent independent of rational perspective, it is impossible to determine whether the oratory should be thought of as standing in front of the towers or behind them. Equally uncertain is the actual location of the cross.

There can be no doubt, however, concerning the pose of the *chlamydatus*; his attitude is neither that of greeting nor of benediction, but of prayer.² Now, *acclamatio* is the commonly accepted accompaniment of the gesture of speech, as is shown, for example, on the diptych of Probianus, Vicarius Urbis Romae.³ Furthermore, the *chlamydatus* could not possibly offer prayer with his back turned to the altar. These difficulties disappear if we adopt the quite probable view that a sequence of events has been combined in one scene: the *chlamydatus* first offered prayer before the altar of the oratory, then turned around and stepped outside to receive the *acclamatio*. The *togati* are senators, or perhaps mere *decuriones*; their strikingly short togas, which are not to my knowledge found elsewhere at this period, might be either a fashionable archaism or a provincial peculiarity. The *paenulati* are presumably clergy, who at this period dressed like upper-class burghers; it is unlikely that any other organized social group existed within the antique polity.

The meaning of the scene derives of necessity from the principal figure, the *chlamydatus*. As the uniform with the *cingulum* shows, he is an official in active service.⁴ The disc fibula, presumably set with a jewel, is an indication of exalted station, since officials were limited by law to use of the golden bow-fibula.⁵ The riding boots, *zancae*, worn instead of *campagi*, or low shoes, tell us that the personage is traveling. Etiquette and law alike decreed the removal of the *zancae* within the city limits of Rome, and presumably of other towns as well.⁶ It is thus probable that the scene takes place outside some town, and that the oratory itself is located there.

The fashionably waved hair of the *chlamydatus*, and his long beard of Eastern monastic type are found together in representations of Theodosius II—not, to be sure, on the tradition-bound coins, but on the consular

missorium of Aspar, of 434.⁷ There the beard appears on the busts terminating the consular scepters: on that held by Ardabur (Consul, 427), where it is somewhat shorter, and on that of Aspar himself, where it has the same length as the beard shown in our panel. At least upon occasion, therefore, Theodosius II wore this type of beard, presumably as a token of monkish piety, just as Julianus and Eugenius had themselves portrayed with goat-beards as philosophers. What can be seen of the distinctive, narrow head of the *chlamys*-wearer agrees well with the surviving marble portrait of Theodosius II.⁸ At the same time, several other factors might appear to weigh, even if not decisively, against the conclusion that the *chlamydatus* is actually Theodosius himself. In so far as can be seen in the photographs, his fibula lacks the three pendants which were a prescribed part of the imperial fibula;⁹ the nimbus, too, is lacking; but both could have been painted on, since the panels were certainly polychromed. Moreover, the personage wears no diadem, but rulers removed their crowns when in the house of God. The presence of the angel speaks strongly in favor of an identification with the Emperor; it is unlikely that an ordinary mortal would be so accompanied.

Taking the interpretation which has just been arrived at as a working hypothesis, we find ourselves faced with still further questions. A visit by Theodosius II to the Western Empire cannot be meant, since in that case his colleague and son-in-law, Valentinian III, would of necessity appear at his side. No such visit, furthermore, took place. It follows that the scene must be laid in the Eastern Empire. Since all military pomp is lacking, the whole setting being remarkably plain, we are led to think of one of the provincial towns which Theodosius II visited on his occasional journeys,¹⁰ rather than of the imperial residence itself. It may further be assumed that other panels, several of which are missing, had, like this one, historical scenes as subjects. Thus the doors may not originally have been destined for the Church of Santa Sabina in Rome; indeed, the panels executed in "fine style" (of which the scene we are discussing is not one), are related rather to the surprising mosaics from the palace of Theodosius II in Constantinople¹¹ than to Roman work of the fifth century.

Apart from Theodosius himself, only an imperial dignitary of the highest rank could come into ques-

2. F. X. Kraus, *Real-Encyclopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, II, Freiburg i.B., 1886, pp. 538ff.

3. R. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1926-29, no. 65.

4. *Op.cit.*, pp. 36ff.

5. *Codex Justinianus rec.*, P. Krueger (*Corpus iuris civilis*, II⁵, 1892), II, 12 (Leo I).

6. For "zanca," see: Egidio Forcellini, *Totius latinitatis lexicon; Theodosiani libri*, ed. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, Berlin, 1903-05, XIV, 10, 2 (years 397 and 399), prohibition for Rome; also Gothofredus and Brissonius, *De verborum quae ad jus pertinent significatione*, ed. J. C. Itter, Leipzig, 1721; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. E. H. Hohl, 1927, *Vita Gallieni*, c. 17, 6; *Procopius de aedificiis*, III, c. 1, D, p. 247, Bonn edition (Satrap of Armenia minor); *Chroni-*

con paschale, pp. 613f., Bonn edition (King of Lazica); F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin, 1925-31.

7. R. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, 156, no. 35; R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1933, pl. 113, 1.

8. *Idem*, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pp. 217ff., pls. 114f.

9. See "Fibel" in index of R. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*.

10. O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476*, Stuttgart, 1919, for the years 425, 436, 443, 445.

11. *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Being a First Report on the Excavations Carried out in Istanbul on Behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews)*, 1935-38, London, 1947, pp. 64ff.

tion—a praetorian prefect, for example, who might have modeled his appearance on that of the Emperor.¹² In that case the scene could be anywhere, even in Rome itself. But the presence of the angel speaks against this hypothesis.

Aside from the alternatives suggested here, there would seem to be no other possible explanation for the scene. An Old Testament theme is excluded by the presence of the Cross. I have found nothing that fitted it in the New Testament or its Apocrypha. The *chlamydatus* can under no circumstances be regarded as a representation of Christ; his official dress and his riding boots preclude such an identification.

By way of supplement, I would like to add one or two observations of minor importance concerning the fine panel which Kantorowicz has convincingly related to the *Parusie*. The apselike "vault of Heaven" apparently represents the planetary sphere, set with sun, moon, and five planets—the heavenly bodies which have given their names to the seven days of the week. The sun, so large that only a segment can be shown, is represented as a disc encircled by spear-shaped rays. Upon this disc, near the outer border, lies a small circle, traversed diagonally by a band of five rays pointing in the general direction of the female figure at the center of the group which reaches up to receive the Cross poised in the air above. The outermost rays, at right and left, are shorter than the others. May this represent a Hand of God speaking to Mary out of the sun?

The circle in which Christ appears, in the upper section, is above the sphere of planets—in other words, in the heaven of the fixed stars. It is framed in a laurel wreath, which, in stylization, corresponds approximately to those on the Column of Constantine in Constantinople, certainly an allusion to the imperial *laurata*.

The three Greek letters on the open scroll which Christ holds in his left hand are perhaps better to be completed as Χριστος Υιος Θεου than as (Ι)Χ(Θ)ΥC. The scroll suggests the *codicilli* used in the state ceremonial of investiture of high officials by the emperor; the text of the *codicilli* even opens with the officer's

name, as, for example, in the case of Probianus Vicarius Urbis (see diptych referred to above). Naturally, the apocalyptic source did not have in mind the *codicilli*, but spoke rather of the book (*volumen*) which Christ would bring with him at the Second Coming. It is equally improbable that the laurel wreath derives from the literary source. Both arise in the period of the mutual interpenetration of Church and State, when religious art was being strongly influenced by official ceremonial, particularly by the ceremonial of the court.

Finally, it does not seem necessary to accept, with Kantorowicz, specifically the Apocalypse of St. Peter as the direct source for the enactment of the Second Coming depicted on our panel. It is conceived of elsewhere in exactly the same manner—in the Apostolic Epistles, for instance, which are thought to have originated in Syria around the year 150.

BONN, GERMANY

GUERCINO'S PAINTINGS OF SEMIRAMIS

DENIS MAHON

A casual glance at the more obvious authorities reveals a certain amount of misunderstanding and confusion on the subject of Guercino's paintings of *Semiramis*. The acquisition last year by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts of one of these pictures—a version previously unknown to modern writers on seventeenth century Italian painting—provides an opportunity to review the facts.¹

The event portrayed by Guercino in his pictures is that of Queen Semiramis receiving news of the revolt of Babylon when at her toilette; curiously enough it is not recorded in the principal literary sources for the widespread and extensive legend of Semiramis, but appears to originate from an isolated anecdote of Valerius Maximus.² The gist of the story is that the Queen took action to quell the revolt before completing her coiffure, but the moral intended to be pointed by it remains somewhat obscure.³ As far as the present writer is aware, the theater throws no light on the choice of the incident or the mood in which the painter presents it.⁴

similar story is told by Polyænus in his *Στρατηγήματα* (VIII, § 26), which was available in Greek, Latin, and Italian.

3. Valerius Maximus places it under the heading *De Ira aut Odio*, with which a late Quattrocento commentator (Oliverius Arzignanensis) is inclined to disagree, suggesting that *virtus* and *magnanimitas* are the qualities illustrated by it.

4. Though I cannot claim to have undertaken an exhaustive investigation into the matter, I have not been able to find more than two of the innumerable plays and operas written round the figure of Semiramis which antedate Guercino's first version of the subject in 1624. *La Semiramis, Tragedia di Mutio Manfredi* (Bergamo, 1593) contains nothing which could be related to the pictures. Virués' *La Gran Semiramis* does contain in the penultimate scene a reference to the commemorative statue (cf. Valerius Maximus) and hence to the story, but it would be altogether too far-fetched to suggest any direct connection between Guercino's work and this Spanish play (*Obras trágicas y líricas del Capitán Cristóval de Virués*, Madrid, 1609, fol. 41^r; reprinted in *Poetas dramáticos valencianos*, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez, Madrid, 1929, I, p. 55).

12. For example: E. Hennecke, *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1914, II, 148.

1. I am much indebted to Mr. W. G. Constable and to Mr. Ashton Sanborn for their generous cooperation in consenting to the transfer of this article to THE ART BULLETIN. Originally written for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin on the invitation of Mr. Constable, it turned out to be abnormally long for that periodical, but naturally remained at the disposal of the Museum authorities when preparing a shorter notice in their own quarterly.

2. *Valerii Maximi Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem*, Lib. IX, Cap. 3, Ext. 4: "Namque Semiramis, Assyriorum regina, cum ei circa cultum capitis sui occupatae nuntiatum esset Babylona defecisse, altera parte crinium adhuc soluta protinus ad eam expugnandam cucurrit nec prius decorem capillorum in ordinem quam tantum urbem in potestatem suam redegit. Quocirca statua eius Babylone posita est illo habitu, quo ad ultionem exigendam celeritate praecipiti tetendit." Innumerable editions of the *Facta et Dicta* were available in Latin, and eleven issues in Italian are recorded as having appeared between 1504 and 1605. A somewhat

The Seicento sources record two paintings of *Semiramis* by Guercino. Malvasia, our principal early informant on the works of the artist, tells us that he painted such a picture for Daniele Ricci in 1624, that it caused some stir on being exhibited at Bologna, and that it "went" to the King of England. As this passage is a document of fundamental importance for our investigation a quotation *in extenso* is desirable: "[Il Guercino] Fece al Sig. Daniele Ricci una Semiramide, che fù esposta in Bologna à maraviglia dell' arte; e questo quadro andò in Inghilterra à quel Rè. Fù da questo Rè fatto invitare alla sua Corte con partiti vantaggiosissimi di pagargli l'opre à quel prezzo egli avesse bramato, di dargli le spese occorrenti, & una certa provisione annua: non volle accettar l'occasione, non volendo conversar con heretici, per non contaminar la bontà de' suoi angelici costumi, & anco per non esporsi à viaggio così disastroso, in clima così lontano da' suoi."⁵

Under the year 1645 Malvasia refers to a second *Semiramis*, painted for Cardinal Cornaro, in the following passage: "All' Eminentissimo Cornaro [il Guercino fece] una S. Margherita, & una Semiramide quando ebbe la nova della presa di Babilonia, quadri grandi."⁶

Guercino's account book, covering the years from 1629 onwards, is still preserved.⁷ This, by enabling us to cross-check Malvasia's statement, supplies us with a typical example both of the basic reliability of his own sources and of the dangers of accepting his text literally, just as it stands—factors which will have some bearing on our interpretation of the previous passage. Two obviously relevant entries do in fact appear in the account book under the year 1645. They are in the handwriting of Guercino's brother, Paolo Antonio Barbieri, and read as follows:

Il di 15. luglio.

Dall Em.^{mo} Sig.^{re} Card.^{le} Cornaro, si è riceuto ducat.ⁿⁱ 45. p[er] la Santa Margeritta, che fano L 225. e sono Scudi 56 L 1.

Il di 22. Xbre.

Dall'Em.^{mo} Sig.^r Cardinale Cornaro si è riceuto p[er] il Quadro della Regina Semiramiss, ducat.ⁿⁱ 150. che fano L 750—e questi p[er] mano dell' Ill.^{mo} Sig.^{re} Gio. Lupari, fano Scudi 187½.

5. Conte Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice, vite de' pittori bolognesi*, Bologna, 1678, II, p. 366; the passage appears in the section devoted by Malvasia to work done by Guercino during the year 1624.

6. Malvasia, *Felsina*, 1678, II, p. 374.

7. MS. B331 in the Biblioteca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna. I propose to quote direct from the manuscript rather than from the text published by Jacopo Alessandro Calvi (*Notizie della vita, e delle opere del Cavaliere Gioan Francesco Barbieri detto il Guercino da Cento*, Bologna, 1808, pp. 59-160) and reprinted in the 1841 edition of Malvasia's *Felsina* (II, pp. 307-343).

8. Naturally the account book itself was preserved in the Casa Gennari in Malvasia's time; Guercino had however died relatively recently (1666), and it is possible that it was still regarded as a private family document. Consequently Malvasia's immediate source may have been a different manuscript list, not now preserved, which did not show the prices;

Clearly Malvasia's text had a thoroughly sound foundation, and indeed there is every reason to believe his statement that he had access to extensive documentary material in the house of Guercino's nephews and heirs, the brothers Benedetto and Cesare Gennari.⁸ Malvasia seems, however, to have been by temperament prone to yielding to the temptation of giving his own gloss to the material at his disposal; this was usually (though not invariably) done without ulterior motives and with the laudable intention of further enlightening the reader. We can hardly blame him for not attaching any particular importance to such a relatively modern conception as the clear and rigorous differentiation in his text between the source he was quoting and his own sometimes rather gratuitous additions to it; but we have to take into due account his deficiencies in this respect.⁹

The difficulty which obtrudes itself in this particular instance is the impossibility of a literal reconciliation between Malvasia's final words—*quadri grandi*—and the price paid for one of the two pictures. Guercino's charge for a single half-length was by this time fixed at 50 ducats,¹⁰ so a *Santa Margherita* for which 45 ducats were paid clearly cannot, according to Guercino's standards, justifiably be described as a large picture. That this is on the other hand reasonably true of the *Semiramis* (150 ducats, therefore three half-lengths) may serve to explain Malvasia's text as it stands; the two pictures have been put together because of the fact that they were ordered by the same patron, and the description *quadro grande* properly applicable to the *Semiramis* has been misleadingly expanded to involve the *Santa Margherita* as well.

Having glanced at the references in the Seicento sources, we now turn to such actual paintings as may have a claim to be associated with them. The most familiar version of the subject by Guercino is certainly that which until recently was (and may still be) in the Gallery at Dresden (Fig. 1). In 1862 the suggestion of an identification with the picture painted for Cardinal Cornaro was advanced for the first time by Julius Hübner.¹¹ This held the field¹² until Dr. Her-

in any case some other documents were evidently available to him for the years before the beginning of the account book in 1629.

9. In the original (1678) edition of the *Felsina pittrice* the use of italic type purports to indicate information derived from the Casa Gennari documents. This should not be taken too literally; in my opinion Malvasia has interpolated retouches of his own into the italic text in a fair number of places, and rearranged it in a few instances, with awkward consequences for us today (for typical examples of Malvasia's methods in this connection, cf. Denis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* [Studies of the Warburg Institute, 16], London, 1947, pp. 25f., 26f., 29f., 70, 71, 84 and 93f.).

10. Guercino, in a letter of June 8, 1639, published by the present writer, states this categorically (cf. Mahon, *op.cit.*, pp. 53f.).

11. Julius Hübner, *Verzeichniss der königlichen Gemäldes-Gallerie zu Dresden* (2nd rev. ed.), Dresden, 1862, p. 178,



FIG. 1. Guercino, *Semiramis*. Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie



FIG. 2. Guercino, *Semiramis*. Whereabouts unknown (formerly Northbrook Collection)



FIG. 3. Guercino, *Semiramis*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



FIG. 4. Guercino, *Sibyl*. Piacenza, Duomo



FIG. 5. Jeremias Falck (after Guercino), *Semiramis*. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

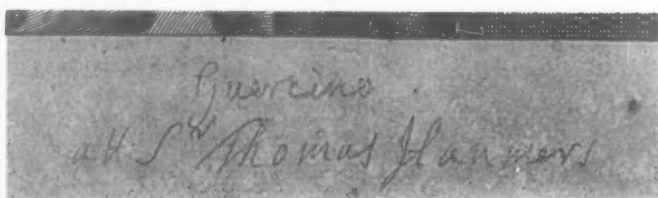


FIG. 6. Eighteenth century inscription below copy of Falck's *Semiramis*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

mann Voss expressed doubts in his article on Guercino in Thieme-Becker.¹³ Voss evidently felt that if the choice was between a late picture and one from Guercino's transitional period, the style of the Dresden version fitted in far more comfortably with the latter. Nor can we quarrel with such a view as long as it is stated cautiously in these broad terms ("eher das 1624 als das 1645 gemalte Bild"), though a slight rigidification is perceptible in the Dresden catalogue of 1929.¹⁴

As a matter of fact, however, a stylistically convincing candidate for identification with Cardinal Cornaro's commission existed (and probably still exists, though I have not been successful in discovering its present whereabouts). This composition was engraved by Caterina Piotti-Pirola in 1830 from the picture then in the collection of W. Haldimand of London.¹⁵ It passed in 1858 from the collection of Richard Sanderson¹⁶ to that of Thomas Baring, from whom it was inherited in 1873 by his nephew, the Earl of Northbrook;¹⁷ it was sold by the late fourth Baron Northbrook in 1919,¹⁸ since which date I have been unable to trace it. The composition would be absolutely in accord with a dating in the middle forties (Fig. 2),

no. 511 ("gemalt für den Kardinal Cornaro in Venedig"). Karl Woermann added the date 1645 and the quotation from Malvasia to the first edition of his catalogue (Dresden, 1887, p. 146, no. 362).

12. E.g. cf. article by Hermann Lücke on Guercino, *s.v.* Barbieri, in *Künstler-Lexikon*, ed. by Julius Meyer and others, III, Leipzig, 1885, p. 6, no. 68.

13. Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, xv, Leipzig, 1922, p. 219.

14. *Die staatliche Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden, vollständiges beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Abt. 1, *Die romanischen Länder*, Dresden/Berlin, 1929, pp. 168f., no. 362 ("Wahrscheinlich schon 1624 entstanden und nicht das erst 1645 für Kardinal Cornaro gemalte Exemplar"). Dimensions, 1.32 x 1.77 m.

15. I am indebted to Signorina Prof. Nefta Grimaldi of Cento for kindly checking the inscription on this print, a copy of which exists in the Pinacoteca Civica there. The print is dedicated to Count Franz von Hartig, then Austrian Governor of Lombardy, and we read that it was "Premiata nel grande Concorso dell' anno 1830, dall' I. R. Accademia delle Belle Arti in Milano." It is difficult to trace the picture further back; the print records that "Il dipinto esiste nella Galleria del Sig. W^m Haldimand di Londra," but it may be that it had only just been imported, and that the drawing had been made in Italy before the canvas had left that country. I came across two references to pictures by Guercino of this subject in old English sale catalogues: (1) Anonymous Sale at Christie's, London, March 24, 1792, no. 106, and (2) William Roscoe Sale, Winstanley, Liverpool, September 27, 1816, no. 69, 4 ft. high x 3½ ft. wide. I may add that I am completely baffled in attempting to account for Gaetano Atti's incorrect assertion that there is a *Semiramis* by Guercino in the Brussels Museum (*Intorno alla vita e alle opere di Gianfrancesco Barbieri detto il Guercino da Cento*, Rome, 1861, p. 141).

16. At Christie's, London, March 20, 1858, no. 19 (it had been previously put up for sale by the same owner at Christie's on June 17, 1848, no. 24, but had been bought in).

17. Cf. W. H. James Weale and Jean Paul Richter, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures Belonging to the Earl of Northbrook*, London, 1889, p. 135, no. 187 (50 x 58½ in.); the catalogue mentions the Dresden picture, which, by a curious irony, it describes as having been painted

and, though I only know the picture from a photograph, I believe it to be an original¹⁹ and to be the canvas for which Cardinal Cornaro paid 150 ducats in 1645.

Various nineteenth century authorities record an engraving by Jeremias Falck (ca. 1609/10?-1677) of a *Semiramis* after Guercino, and agree in stating that it represents the Dresden composition.²⁰ This is an error, and the fact that it has frequently escaped detection may be due to the circumstance that the great majority of impressions from the plate seem to have been taken before all letters, and consequently the prints (particularly when loose, as they often are) have escaped classification in print rooms.²¹ The only proof with letters which I have ever seen was one in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, of which I had a photograph made many years ago (Fig. 5).²² In fact this engraving belongs to a series²³ reproducing pictures owned by the famous Dutch collector Gerrit Reynst (1599-1658),²⁴ and commissioned by him from various engravers shortly before his death. The volume, which was not issued until some time during the subsequent decade, has an undated title page²⁵ providing the information

for Cardinal Cornaro—following the erroneous statement in the then current Dresden catalogues.

18. At Christie's, London, December 12, 1919, no. 126, 51 x 59 in. (ca. 1.295 x 1.50 m.).

19. There is an old copy of this composition, certainly of poorer quality than the Northbrook picture, at Petworth (cf. C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield*, London, 1920, p. 52, no. 155, 51 x 62 in.; the reference to the Dresden picture is misleadingly expressed).

20. G. K. Nagler, *Künstler-Lexikon*, IV, Munich, 1837, p. 227; Hermann Lücke, in *Künstler-Lexikon*, ed. by Julius Meyer and others, III, Leipzig, 1885, p. 9, no. 96; and J. C. Block, *Jeremias Falck, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Danzig, 1890, p. 115, no. 155.

21. This does not excuse Lücke (the next item in whose list is Hanfstaengl's lithograph, which is really after the Dresden picture), and Block (who has carelessly accepted his predecessors' statements without checking).

22. Lettered: *Guercin del Sento Pinx. J: Falck Sculp. F. de Wit excudit.*

23. The fullest description of the subjects comprising the series will be found in M. Huber and J. G. Stimmel, *Catalogue raisonné du Cabinet d'Estampes de feu Monsieur [Gottfried] Winckler*, v (by Stimmel), Leipzig, 1810, pp. 309-317; the *Semiramis* is no. 26 on p. 315. The attributions to engravers and (even more) painters are sometimes unreliable, as practically all the impressions in Winckler's collection were before letters; we cannot however go further into this matter here.

24. Gerrit Reynst's collection included what was probably the most important group of Italian paintings in seventeenth century Holland. His brother Jan Reynst (1601-1646) resided partly in Venice, and took full advantage of this fact to acquire works of art for himself and Gerrit; he seems to have bequeathed some, at any rate, of his pictures to his brother. Carlo Ridolfi's dedication of June 25, 1646, to the two brothers of the first volume of his *Le Maraviglie dell' arte* (first published in 1648) provides striking testimony to their reputation as lovers of art.

25. *Variarum Imaginum a celeberrimis Artificibus pictarum Caelaturae elegantissimis Tabulis repraesentatae. Ipsae Picturae partim extant apud viduam Gerardi Reynst, quondam huius urbis Senatoris ac Scabini, partim Carolo II. Britanniarum*

that some of the pictures were in the possession of Reynst's widow, while others had been acquired by the States of Holland for presentation to King Charles II of England.²⁶

A reconsideration of the puzzling passage in *Felsina pittrice* relating to the first version of the subject, executed for Ricci, was suggested by the reference to the English Royal Collections and by the fact that the style of the Reynst picture, in so far as one could dimly perceive it through Falck's engraving, did not clash with the date 1624 given by Malvasia. But two obstacles stood in the way of any approach to a definitive solution of the problem: first, the difficulty of explaining the absence of any mention of such a picture in the Royal Inventories, and secondly—above all—the fact that the canvas itself was apparently lost.²⁷ This was the inconclusive state of the matter when I was invited to examine a painting by Guercino which was on its way to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from the collection of the Duke of Grafton at Euston Hall (Fig. 3).²⁸ The situation was at once greatly clarified: not only was this obviously the hitherto missing Reynst picture,²⁹ but its style indicated that it must have been painted very soon after Guercino's return to Cento from Rome in 1623, and its provenance immediately suggested a pos-

sible explanation for its failure to appear in the Royal Inventories—Charles II having been the father of the first Duke of Grafton by the Duchess of Cleveland.

Before resuming our task of seeking to assign the three versions of *Semiramis* to their proper positions in Guercino's career, some attempt may be made to throw light on the history of the Boston picture after leaving the Reynst collection. A pencil note under the copy of Falck's *Semiramis* in a volume of the Reynst engravings now in the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London,³⁰ provides useful evidence on this point; this particular impression is, as so often, before all letters, and the annotator has scribbled on the old mount: *Guercino att S^r Thomas Hammers* (Fig. 6). The handwriting of our informant (whose acquaintance with the Royal pictures appears from other notes in the volume to be something more than casual) is identical with that of the author of copious additions to an inventory of the collections of the Crown dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century,³¹ and turns out to be that of the Rt. Hon. Thomas Coke, Vice-Chamberlain of H. M. Household from 1706 until his death in 1727.³² The provenance of the *Semiramis* from the collection of the Dukes of Grafton³³ fits in

Regi a Potentissimis Hollandiae West-Frisiaeque Ordinibus dono missae sunt. Amstelodami, n.d. A terminus post is provided by the purchase and despatch of the gift to Charles II (September-November, 1660), and a terminus ante by the death of Gerrit Reynst's widow Anna (November, 1671).

26. The principal authority for the Reynst collections is Emil Jacobs, "Das Museo Vendramin und die Sammlung Reynst," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 15-38 (cf. especially pp. 22ff.; on p. 28 Jacobs publishes documentary evidence to the effect that the number of pictures actually purchased from Anna Reynst was twenty-four, and points out that the inference is that they were all Italian). In attempting to deal with the so-called "Dutch Gift" to Charles II Jacobs did not have the advantage of knowledge of the manuscript inventory of that King's pictures; consequently there is now a good deal more to be added on the subject. Mr. C. H. Collins Baker consulted this inventory in preparing his *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court* (1929), and the information provided in the catalogue was utilized by Mr. Frits Lugt, who gives the Reynst collection an important place in his article "Italiaansche kunstwerken in Nederlandsche verzamelingen van vroeger tijden," *Oud Holland*, LIII, 1936, pp. 97-135 (cf. especially pp. 115ff.). The subject of the "Dutch Gift" has not however been completely exhausted, and some notes by the present writer bringing the material together and suggesting certain adjustments and additions will be found in the issues of *The Burlington Magazine* for November and December 1949.

27. Mr. Frits Lugt published the engraving as after Guercino but added that the whereabouts of the painting were unknown (*op.cit.*, p. 102, fig. 35; cf. also p. 117, part of note 40, where its identification with the late version is cautiously suggested: "misschien identiek met het schilderij in 1645 voor kardinaal Cornaro geschilderd").

28. Canvas, 112 x 155 cm. (44¼ x 60¾ in.). Registration no. 48.1028. The writer examined the picture before it was cleaned, but has photographs of it in its present (apparently excellent) state.

29. Falck has misinterpreted the light on the column, but otherwise his engraving is remarkably close. The extra space on the right of the print may represent an addition to the composition not made by the painter himself; my personal im-

pression (for what it may be worth) is that this space did not originate with Guercino, and that he would have regarded it as having a deadening effect on the rather abrupt staccato rhythms of his composition.

30. A large, thin, red-bound volume lettered on the spine REYNST. VARIARUM IMAGINUM and placed on shelf 100 B. Title page and thirty-four plates were mounted on separate sheets of paper, certainly at a very early date. Nothing is known of the provenance of the volume, except that it was acquired by the Museum from a bookseller on May 28, 1889. Falck's *Semiramis* is the third plate in this particular set.

31. This inventory, known as the *Queen Anne Folio Inventory*, is at present on loan from the Royal Library at Windsor Castle to the Office of the Surveyor of the King's Pictures at Saint James's Palace. The inventory proper must, on internal evidence, have been drawn up between 1706 and 1710, and the operations of the annotator, who evidently had the task of checking it over, certainly occurred before the death of Queen Anne (August 1, 1714). I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr. Oliver Millar, the Assistant Surveyor, for the generous way in which he allowed me access to the Royal Inventories, and for his invaluable guidance in consulting them.

32. After I had realized that the same hand was responsible for the annotations in both volumes, Mr. Millar made the useful and opportune discovery that an undated letter stuck in at the beginning of Harleian MS 7352 in the British Museum was also identical; this letter is signed T. Coke and a note added to it in the handwriting of George Vertue reads: "This Letter from Vicechamberlain Cooke as I have heard My Lord Oxford often say." I am much indebted to Miss Scott-Elliott, of the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, for the date of Coke's original appointment (sworn on December 3, 1706). When he died in May 1727 he still held the office (for obituary notice, see A. Boyer's periodical *The Political State of Great Britain*, xxxiii, Jan.-June 1727, pp. 528f.).

33. Perhaps we may note in parenthesis Passavant's statement that Guercino was among the artists represented in the London house of the Duke of Grafton; this probably refers to the *Semiramis* (J. D. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt am Main, 1833, p. 80).

admirably with Coke's reference to its having found a (temporary) home with Sir Thomas Hanmer,³⁴ since the latter married in 1698 Isabella, widow of the first Duke of Grafton and daughter of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington. She died in 1723, but Sir Thomas lived until 1746, long after the death of our annotator.³⁵

How did the picture pass from the possession of Gerrit Reynst's widow to that of the Dukes of Grafton? The most probable explanation seems to the writer to be that the *Semiramis* was one of the twenty-four paintings which the States of Holland purchased from Anna Reynst for presentation to Charles II in 1660, and that the King subsequently gave the picture to Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine (Duchess of Cleveland), or to their son, Henry Fitzroy, first Duke of Grafton. In this connection there are, however, two elements of uncertainty to which reference must be made. The first is that the picture does not appear in the manuscript inventory of Charles II's pictures now on loan to the Surveyor's Office from the Windsor Castle Library. But this inventory was made some time after the Restoration (probably after 1666), and only includes Whitehall and Hampton Court;³⁶ the Guercino could either have been in some other Royal building (e.g. Windsor Castle), or could already have been given to Barbara Villiers.³⁷ The second element of uncertainty stems from the fact that the reconstruction of the Dutch Gift is dependent on the interpretation of rather complex evidence, the point at issue being whether or not the twenty-four pictures purchased from Anna Reynst can be identified exclusive of the *Semiramis*. In the present state of our knowledge this must remain a matter of opinion, my own view being that the *Semiramis* is not necessarily so excluded; but the basis on which this conclusion was arrived at must be set out elsewhere.³⁸

At this juncture the passage in *Felsina pittrice* in which Malvasia records the painting commissioned by Daniele Ricci in 1624 may usefully be reexamined.³⁹ It can be (and indeed has been) taken to read that Daniele Ricci commissioned the picture in 1624, more or less as intermediary on behalf of the King of England, who thereupon invited the artist to his Court. But already in the eighteenth century Charles Rogers had drawn attention to the fact that the passage was probably not to be taken too literally. "This Invitation

seems placed too early," Rogers comments,⁴⁰ "as K. James I., who had no remarkable love for the Fine Arts, did not die 'till 1625; but his Successor, who gave the greatest encouragement to them, was most probably the Monarch who made Guercino these valuable offers." Quite so: and why is the reference to the invitation from the King of England inserted in this particular place? Because mention has just been made of the King of England in another connection, as the recipient of a *Semiramis*, a picture—here we have the third stage in the sequence—which was painted for Ricci in 1624. The fact is that we have three fundamentally separate items of information, namely: (1) Guercino painted a *Semiramis* for Ricci in 1624; (2) the *Semiramis* for Ricci went to the King of England; (3) Guercino was invited by the King to go to England. While each of these statements may very well deserve credence when considered individually, there is good cause for disbelieving the implications to which they collectively give rise when linked by Malvasia for reasons which may be described as linguistic rather than historical.

It may especially be noted that the implied relationship between (1) and (3) is purely verbal, not substantial; in other words the statement, which is not at all improbable, that the King of England invited Guercino to his Court has nothing to do with 1624 or the *Semiramis*. Such an invitation can only (as Rogers suggested) have come from Charles I, though it is quite possible that Guercino's rejection of the invitation preceded Gentileschi's acceptance, and thus took place very soon after the King succeeded his father in March 1625. In any case two Guercinos, a prophet and a landscape, are listed in a licence obtained by the King's agent, Nicholas Lanier, permitting the export of a consignment of pictures from the Papal States, and bearing the date of January 29, 1626⁴¹—a relatively early date in Guercino's career, since his work was hardly known outside the Po valley before 1621. It appears however that the only Guercinos sold by the Commonwealth in 1649-1650 represented precisely these subjects; no other paintings by our artist seem to be mentioned in the various inventories of Charles I, and in particular there is no *Semiramis*.⁴² It thus becomes increasingly clear that two different Kings of England are being referred to, the King in (2) being

34. Sir Thomas, the fourth Baronet, succeeded his uncle, Sir John Hanmer, in 1701. He was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1714-1715, and his portrait in the Duke of Grafton's collection at Euston Hall shows him in the robes of that office (cf. Rev. Edmund Farrer, *Portraits in Suffolk Houses [West]*, London, 1908, pp. 108f.).

35. Another annotation in the Victoria and Albert Museum volume mentions Lord Torrington, and it became clear on investigation that the reference must have been to the viscountcy created in favor of the Byng family in 1721.

36. After a cursory study of the inventory the prospects of finding a hard and fast *terminus ante* did not seem to me to be very rosy.

37. Mr. Oliver Millar very kindly informs me that he has ascertained that a portrait by Mytens of the Duke of Buckingham, which figures in the Charles II inventory (p. 72, Hamp-

ton Court no. 23), did in fact find its way into the collection of the Dukes of Grafton (the measurements correspond).

38. Cf. end of note 26 above.

39. Quoted above, p. 218.

40. Charles Rogers, *A Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings*, London, 1778, II, p. 103.

41. *Archivio storico, artistico, archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma*, IV, Spoleto, 1880, p. 77: "... si concede licenza al Sig. Nicolò Lanieri inglese di poter esportare dallo stato Pontificio l'infrascritti quadri: ... Un profeta ed un paese del Quercino di 2 et 3 palmi. ... " I am indebted to Dr. Otto Kurz for kindly drawing my attention to this.

42. Mr. Millar, who has made a thorough study of the manuscripts, was good enough to confirm my own impression, based on a much more cursory search.

Charles II—an identification which effectively disposes of any link between Ricci's *Semiramis* and Charles I's invitation.

The following explanation for the corruption of the text may be suggested. The original text of the Casa Gennari document listing Guercino's pictures (utilized by Malvasia) simply recorded a *Semiramis* painted for Ricci in 1624. At a considerably later date an annotator had reason to believe that "this picture went to the King of England" and inserted a statement to that effect in the manuscript. Finally, the document came into the hands of Malvasia, who, noticing the mention of the King of England's invitation slightly later in the chronological sequence, thought fit, in arranging his text for printing, to lift the invitation passage bodily out of its original context and insert it in what seemed to him to be a natural place, namely after the mention of the King of England in connection with the *Semiramis*.⁴³ The writer's belief is that this did in fact occur; but there is a supposition in the argument which calls for further elucidation. How could the annotator postulated by it have come by the information which led him to insert his note?

One possibility is that the Reynst publication (which would appear comfortably to antedate Malvasia) came into the hands of the annotator who, first, identified Falck's engraving with the painting done in 1624, and, secondly, jumped to the conclusion that it was one of the pictures referred to on the title page as having been presented to the King of England. Under this hypothesis it may be noted that our interpretation of Malvasia's text would hold good irrespective of the accuracy or otherwise of the guess originating from the title page.⁴⁴

A far more likely source for the annotator's information would have been correspondence from Guer-

cino's nephew, Benedetto Gennari, who had been employed at the Court of England for fully three years prior to the publication of the *Felsina pittrice* in 1678. We learn from Benedetto's manuscript account of his activities at this time that he reached London on September 24, 1674.⁴⁵ On arrival he presented the King with a painting by himself of *Diana and Endymion*, and immediately plunged into a series of commissions for the King, the Queen, the Duke of York, and most of the prominent personages at Court (the young Duke and Duchess of Grafton were to figure among his sitters later on). What would be more natural in these circumstances than that he should discover his uncle's *Semiramis*, learn something of its history, and send this information by letter to his brother Cesare Gennari at Bologna? What more natural, too, than that the latter should thereupon turn to the list of Guercino's paintings and add under the already existing entry relating to the *Semiramis* painted in 1624 for Ricci: *e questo quadro andò in Inghilterra à quel Rè?* The stage would now have been set for Malvasia to pay his visit to the Casa Gennari.

Some stylistic considerations remain to be discussed.⁴⁶ It would be difficult to contest the view that the *Semiramis* formerly in the Northbrook collection (Fig. 2) displays characteristics entirely typical of Guercino's late period: among these we may cite, for example, the refined "classic" profile of the Queen, the quiet gentle movements, and the use of relatively diffused light (resulting for instance in the clear rendering of the patterning of stuffs). As has already been said, the writer believes that it is the picture painted for Cardinal Cornaro in 1645.⁴⁷ The other two *Semiramis* pictures are obviously much more closely related to each other

43. In the writer's opinion such an action would be typical of the mentality of the worthy Malvasia, whose best friends would hardly have described him as clear-headed (the subject of Malvasia's rather careless use of the Casa Gennari documents could be further pursued, if desired, by means of the references given at the end of note 9 above).

44. If this guess was incorrect (i.e. if the Reynst picture, properly identified by the annotator with the Ricci picture, was not after all a gift to the King), it would still be possible to suggest that the *Semiramis* could have passed from the Reynst collection to that of the Dukes of Grafton through Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, whose only child, Isabella, was the wife of the first Duke and of Sir Thomas Hanmer. Though we ourselves do not advocate this conceivable alternative, we may take due note in the present digression of certain facts which might be relevant to it. Arlington's residence, Goring House (on the site of the present Buckingham Palace) was burnt to the ground, with the loss of all the pictures, in September 1674; I am grateful to Mr. E. S. de Beer for kindly drawing my attention to this fact in Evelyn's Diary (September 21, 1674; cf. also *The Bulstrode Papers* [Alfred Morrison Collection Documents], 1897, p. 267). On November 16, 1676, Evelyn saw Sebastiano del Piombo's *Cardinal Carondelet* and other pictures in his house. In this connection Pierre Crozat, writing rather long after the event, says in a note (which is not devoid of error on other matters) that Arlington received the *Carondelet* as a gift from the Dutch States-General (*Recueil d'estampes*, 1, Paris, 1729, École romaine, p. 14). If this is in fact correct, Arlington could possibly have received it during his visit to William of Orange in November-

January 1674-1675; since he received one picture, the argument might run, why not another? Reynst's widow had died in 1671 and her pictures were being disposed of through the dealer and painter Gerrit Uylenburgh (one of the selector-valuers of 1660). Uylenburgh was certainly in England from 1677 onwards, being put in charge of the King's pictures, and so was conveniently placed geographically for selling works of art to Arlington. The inventory of Uylenburgh's own collection, dated March-April 1675, was published by Dr. A. Bredius (*Künstler-Inventare*, v, The Hague, 1918, pp. 1662ff.); it contains no Guercino, but there is a *Semiramis* given to Pietro da Cortona (p. 1669).

45. Biblioteca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna, MS B344: "trattenuto," Benedetto writes, "da Sua Maestà [i.e. Charles II] dandomi impieghi per dipingere, mi convenne Fermarmi [i.e. in England] giungendo in Londra li 24 Settembre 1674."

46. For brevity's sake the writer is compelled to assume some familiarity with what he has already said on the subject of Guercino's change of style in Part I of *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 16).

47. It is possible that at the date when this commission was given, the Boston picture was (and may have been for some little time) in Jan Reynst's gallery at Venice, and that the sight of it put the subject and the artist in the mind of the patron. Cardinal Federico Cornaro (for whom Bernini was at work at precisely this period on his famous chapel of S. Theresa) was a Venetian, sometime Patriarch of Venice, and son of the Doge Giovanni Cornaro (Corner) I.

in time, and both belong stylistically to Guercino's transitional period between his painterly early style and his classic late style. Voss' rejection of the Dresden picture (Fig. 1) as being that of 1645 was of course a move in the right direction, but was it really possible for this Dresden version to have come into existence so soon—for example—after the *Santa Petronilla* (finished in 1623) as an identification with the painting commissioned by Ricci must necessarily imply? I was never able to believe this, and am confirmed in my disbelief by the rediscovery of the Boston picture, which from a stylistic point of view has an enormously stronger claim to be so identified.

The writer is not aware of any documentary evidence throwing light on the dating of the Dresden picture; it went there in 1746 with the large collection purchased by the Elector of Saxony from the Duke of Modena, in whose possession it is recorded in the late Seicento.⁴⁸ The author of a manuscript catalogue of the Ducal Gallery of Modena dating from 1744 (probably a certain Gherardi)⁴⁹ was familiar with Malvasia's reference to the *Semiramis* painted for Ricci and confidently speaks of the Modena version as having been painted "nine years" later; but it turns out that he is simply suggesting 1633 because he knew from Malvasia that Guercino paid a visit to Modena about that time to paint the portraits of the Duke and Duchess. Naturally he did not know, as we now do, that Guercino was indeed paid for the portraits on May 31, 1633, but not for a *Semiramis*; indeed the failure of Guercino's account book (which begins in the year 1629) to include a *Semiramis* at this period makes it necessary for us to consider the possibility of placing the Dresden picture rather earlier than might appear probable at first glance. Actually I believe we could assign it to about 1627-1628 without doing violence to the stylistic possibilities. Any earlier date would however feel decidedly uncomfortable; we may note for example the obvious contrast between the plump, "full-blooded," and still on the whole rather plebeian type of the Queen in the Boston picture (Fig. 3), and the relatively more elegant and delicate female types in that at Dresden, with their longer necks and a new suggestion of daintiness in the carefully stressed regular ovals of their features.⁵⁰ In this connection attention may be drawn to one of the Sibyls in the Cathedral at Piacenza (Fig. 4); the female type in the somewhat damaged fresco,

which dates from 1627,⁵¹ is reasonably similar. Another factor in which a considerable difference is immediately noticeable as between the Boston and Dresden pictures is that whereas in the one much stress is laid on short insistent diagonals (with the consequent suggestion of restless movement), in the other sober verticals provide the keynote, and impose a slower, more deliberate rhythm on the composition.

It is interesting to note, however, that both pictures have this in common when compared with Guercino's early style—that the compositions are conceived in planimetric rather than recessionary terms, and that such an arrangement carries with it the normal corollary of the clearer differentiation as between each other of the individual forms. A stylistic shift towards a relief-like arrangement had begun at Rome in the colossal *Santa Petronilla* finished in 1623 (see especially the lower portion) and is maintained in the Boston picture. Here the artist seeks to compensate for a new and unaccustomed definiteness (for the young Guercino had not been partial to clear categorical statements) by means of emphatic movement—within the shallow field postulated by the acceptance of a planimetric method of presentation—and by means of the glow of intense color, released as it were by the hitherto unwonted diffusion of the light.⁵² We may speculate, by contrast, on how Guercino might have represented this subject four or five years earlier, before his visit to Rome: perhaps the messenger would have been shown with his back half facing the spectator, very likely with a *profil perdu*, his body partly interposed between ourselves and the Queen, who might have been seated slightly higher and whose right shoulder would surely have been swung back away from us. And so on!

The Boston painting is closely related in such matters as the handling of the paint, the management of the light, the treatment of stuffs and draperies, and so forth, to the *Santa Petronilla* and to other paintings produced during the first two or three years after Guercino's return from Rome in 1623,⁵³ and I have no doubt that it is to be identified with the painting which Malvasia tells us was commissioned by Daniele Ricci in 1624. As such it is of considerable interest, adding to Guercino's *oeuvre* a notable example painted at the very moment when he began to change his style.⁵⁴

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48. It was noted in the Ducal Palace at Modena by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger on a journey made in 1687-1688 (*Nicodemus Tessin d. y:s Studieresor i Danmark, Tyskland, Holland, Frankrike och Italien*, ed. O. Sirén, Stockholm, 1914, p. 217). An undated inventory, endorsed in an early nineteenth century hand *Sec. XVII (fine)*, records its presence in the Ducal Palace at Sassuolo (Modena, Archivio di Stato, Camera Ducale, Fabbriche e Villeggiature, Filza 14, Fascicolo 1694-1737).

49. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS no. G. 5. 18, pp. 53 and 55f.

50. We observe the part played in giving rise to this impression by the soft reflected light diffused over their heads from the left—a device which, used in this particular way, seems to have been without precedent in Guercino's work.

51. For the date, cf. Denis Mahon, *op.cit.*, note 27 on pp. 29-30.

52. In the early works the more powerful contrasts of light and shade were of course apt to break up the color. In the Dresden version the intensity of the color remains, but the movement has quieted and become more incidental.

53. For example, compare the pleasing little landscape with that in the *Madonna and Child with S. Lawrence* at Finale nell' Emilia, probably also painted in 1624 (repr. in Denis Mahon, *op.cit.*, figs. 42 and 44).

54. Since I have argued in my *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* that the sight of works by Domenichino in Rome played an appreciable part in causing Guercino to change his style, perhaps I may be allowed to add that the Boston *Semiramis* appears to me to fit in very smoothly with this view. That

MANTEGNA'S *PARNASSUS*
A REPLY TO SOME RECENT
REFLECTIONS¹

EDGAR WIND

In giving an account of my interpretation of Mantegna's *Parnassus*,² Mrs. Tietze has tried her hand at a craft with which the readers of this journal are not unfamiliar. She has engaged in a little restoration. The gaiety which I ascribed to this subtle painting has been heightened by a baleful touch. In Homer, the love of Mars and Venus and the derision of Vulcan are associated with the laughter of the gods. Hence, to discern an echo of Homeric laughter in a representation of these scenes was not a very revolutionary theory; but in Mrs. Tietze's adaptation it has acquired the double attraction of being far-fetched and morally reprehensible.

If the article was intended to spread confusion, it may have its measure of success. But it is fortunate, as Shaftesbury observed, that tactical errors are occasionally made by cloudy people. In the present case, a little learning has been affixed to the voice of expostulation, and this may prove to have been a mistake. I have collected a few samples of Mrs. Tietze's workmanship to show how well equipped she is to dispute the mock-heroic revival, or any other phase of the classic tradition. In deference to a learned journal, I have sustained the fiction that these malapropisms deserve to be seriously refuted.

(1) "But in the second half of the fifteenth century no such intimacy with Homer could have existed, since the author, for all practical purposes, was unknown... it would have been necessary to prove Homer's absorption by the period in question, or at least the uniqueness of such an allusion to him ought to have been stressed."

Mantegna's painting of the *Parnassus* was finished and hung in the summer of 1497.³ The complete Greek Homer had been accessible in print since 1488.⁴ Of translations and epitomes of Homer no less than sixteen editions were printed between 1474 and 1497, and

is not, of course, to suggest that the *Semiramis* "looks like" a Domenichino, but simply to note that some aspects of the picture unprecedented with Guercino (e.g. certain drapery forms, the Queen's hair and jewels, etc.) are in fact paralleled in paintings by Domenichino which he must have seen during his stay in Rome from 1621 to 1623.

1. E. Tietze-Conrat, "Mantegna's *Parnassus*. A Discussion of a Recent Interpretation," ART BULLETIN, XXXI, 1949, pp. 126-130.

2. Edgar Wind, *Bellini's Feast of the Gods*, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 7-20.

3. Letter from Alberto da Bologna to Isabella d'Este, July 3, 1497. Cf. G. Fiocco, *Mantegna*, tr. J. Chuzeville, 1938, p. 184.

4. *Editio princeps*, edited by Demetrius Chalcondylas, dedicated to Piero de' Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent; Florence, 1488.

these included the Latin Iliad by Lorenzo Valla, and the Latin Odyssey by Raphael of Volterra.⁵ To this must be added the diffusion of Homer through manuscripts⁶ and through oral recitation. Public lectures on Homer were delivered by fifteenth century humanists as divergent in outlook as Angelo Poliziano and Codro Urceo (not to speak of the many Greek lecturers—Chalcondylas, Lascaris, Musurus, etc.). Of Poliziano's Homeric orations two examples are preserved, his *Praefatio in Homerum*, which is strictly analytical, and his fourth *Silva*, entitled *Ambra*, certainly among the most popular of his works, and containing a eulogy in Latin hexameters of Homer and the Homeric poems.⁷ From Urceo's *Sermones* the following extract may suffice: "I shall expound to you Greek literature and above all the divine Homer, from which perennial fountain, as was said by Ovid, the land of the priests is irrigated with the springs of the muses. From Homer you can learn grammar, from Homer rhetoric, from Homer medicine, from Homer astrology, from Homer legends, from Homer history, from Homer morals, from Homer the doctrines of the philosophers, from Homer the military art, from Homer the art of cooking, from Homer architecture, from Homer the best manner of governing cities, and in short, whatever good or pleasant the soul of man may desire to learn, you will be easily able to find in Homer."⁸ Homeric titles of a mock-heroic style (*Galeomyomachia*, *Hypnerotomachia*) appeared among the incunabula printed by Aldus.⁹ Pico della Mirandola, the phoenix of his age, declared that his own *poetica Theologia* was inspired by a meticulous study of the Odyssey.¹⁰ From whatever source Mrs. Tietze may have derived her Homeric theories, it is not from the humanist literature of the fifteenth century.

(2) "Francesco Aretino, to be sure, had translated the Odyssey in 1459-1460. Nevertheless, the poem had not become common property, and in fact no representation has been found in the visual arts of the period that may reliably be traced back to Homer."

An entire class of fifteenth-century cassone panels shows scenes from the Odyssey in a combination and sequence which make the text of Homer their unmis-

5. L. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Milan, 1948, III, pp. 77-80, nos. 8773ff.; W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, London, 1898, II, i, p. 305, nos. 3034ff.; D. Reichling, *Appendices ad Haini-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Munich, 1905, I, p. 48, no. 212; II, p. 51, no. 558.

6. See, for example, P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, New York, 1936, who lists eight manuscripts of Homer and one printed edition.

7. *Opera*, Paris, 1519, II, fols. lviff., lxxxviff. In some editions the *Ambra* is printed as the third *Silva*.

8. *Opera*, Venice, 1506, fol. xxxiii. Urceo died in 1500.

9. The *Hypnerotomachia* was completed in 1467 and published in 1499. The edition of the *Galeomyomachia*, prepared for Aldus by Aristobulus Apostolius, bears no date but is presumably earlier than the printing of the *Hypnerotomachia*.

10. "De Hominis Dignitate," *Opera*, Basle, 1557, p. 327.

takable source. Some of these pictures, semipopular in style and manufactured in quantity, are listed and reproduced in Schubring's *Cassoni* (1923), pp. 275ff., pls. LIV-LVI, and one of them is now in the Art Institute of Chicago. In view of the existence of these serials from Homer, Mrs. Tietze's statement that all single pictures of "Penelope and her suitors" or "Circe's transformation of men into animals" produced in the Quattrocento "go back to other sources" is a false generalization.

(3) "Even 'the sixteenth century remains, for the most part, firm in its allegiance to Dares and Dictys' as Griffin states."

N. E. Griffin's dissertation on the "two Latin forgeries that pass under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis"¹¹ is so well studded with references to the mediaeval and Renaissance knowledge of Homer (see for example, p. 11 nn. 1 and 2; p. 16 n. 2) that to quote this particular book in support of the contention that Homer was "practically unknown" in these periods is perhaps more audacious than confusing. Griffin was concerned with the interesting observation that the historical authority enjoyed by these forgeries, which were supposed to be authentic accounts of the Trojan War by two eye-witnesses, produced a profound and lasting dissatisfaction with "the mendacious fictions of Homer."¹² It is in the nature of mendacious fictions that they produce dissatisfaction only in those who know them. The statement by Griffin, from which Mrs. Tietze has torn out one sentence, reads as follows:

Faith in the authenticity of records that had thus received permanent embodiment in the literature of the Middle Ages was not lightly abandoned in the period that followed. The sixteenth century remains, for the most part, firm in its allegiance to Dares and Dictys. Sir Philip Sidney in his *Apologie for Poetrie* (1595) contrasts with the *feigned* Aeneas of Virgil the *right* (real) Aeneas of Dares Phrygius, and, at the turn of the century, despite the previous appearance of Chapman's *Iliad* (1598), it is the old tradition to which Shakespeare reverts and gives final literary expression in his *Troilus and Cressida* (1603). So, too, in the seventeenth century, in spite of a growing scepticism, critics are not wanting who still believe in the pre-Homeric antiquity of these records.¹³

11. N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys. An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy*, Baltimore, 1907, p. 1.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 11 n. 1.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 16—Inadvertently, in quoting a line from Boiardo's *Tarocchi* and a phrase from Lorenzo de' Medici's fragment *Amori* [not *Amore*] *di Marte e Venere*, Mrs. Tietze has introduced two passages dependent on Homer's story of Mars and Venus. In *Odyssey*, viii, 271, 302, the role of the informer is played by Helios. As the god of the sun he brings the deed to light. It is this incident on which Lorenzo's fragment is based, and to which Boiardo refers in the verse ad-

(4) "I limit my critical analysis to the second chapter of Wind's book."

Mrs. Tietze has limited her critical analysis to five pages of the second chapter of my book. She has omitted from her account a major part of this chapter, in which I discuss the exceptional position held among Mantuan humanists by Paride da Ceresara, who is known to have been Isabella's adviser when she composed the program of her Camerino. I should hardly have taken all this trouble about the presumed inventor of Mantegna's *Parnassus* if I had thought that this picture was a literal transcript from Homer. I stressed the great variety of sources from which Paride da Ceresara had drawn for his "pagan fantasy" (for example, Philostratus, Vergil, Horace, Plato and Proclus, Ficino and Pico, the *Appendix Ausoniana*, the hieroglyphic tradition, emblems, numismatics). As for Homeric features, I pointed out that (1) the love of Mars and Venus combined with the derision of Vulcan is a theme to be found in Homer, that (2) Mercury and Apollo are the two gods in Homer who defended the love of Mars and Venus and "amused the gods at the expense of Vulcan," and that (3) this subject is introduced by Homer in the form of a dancing song.¹⁴ Mrs. Tietze's list of all the Homeric details she misses in the picture merely proves that Paride da Ceresara's way of composing a humanist *fantasia* was very different from what we might have seen if this task had been assigned to Mrs. Tietze.

(5) "The accepted interpretation of the verses of *Ausonius* [about the muse Polyhymnia], therefore, is that Polyhymnia is gesticulating with her hands like an orator."

Far from being "the accepted interpretation" (a term which has no meaning in Renaissance mythography, since humanist compilers delighted in collecting for their readers as large a choice of interpretations as they could muster), the interpretation does not even cover the few cases which Mrs. Tietze chose to cite, as, for example, Timoteo della Vita's *Polyhymnia*, which she described in the middle of the same paragraph. That the line which I quoted from the *Appendix Ausoniana*—"Signat cuncta manu loquiturque Polymnia gestu"—defines Polyhymnia as the Muse of oratory, could be believed only by those who did not trouble to read it. Clearly, an orator does not "signify all with his hands" (*signat cuncta manu*), nor does he speak only "by gestures" (*loquitur gestu*). Polyhymnia is described in this verse as the Muse of pantomime; and this role is assigned

deduced: "E il Sol ne fece manifeste prove." In mistaking these two passages for un-Homeric, Mrs. Tietze has confused the exposition of the story with its dénouement.

14. In Mrs. Tietze's opinion the singer and the dancers "mean hardly more than a colon or quotation mark to introduce the song," but this careless reading of Homer is not traditional. According to Lucian, *De Saltatione*, 63, the story of Mars, Venus, and Vulcan was even in Roman times a subject of pantomime, and this passage was known in Ferrara and Mantua since it is quoted in Gyraldus' dialogues *De Historia Poetarum* (*Opera*, Leyden, 1696, II, p. 328).

to her also in Gyraldus' *Syntagma de Musis*.¹⁵ She substitutes gestures for words: "loquacissimae manus, linguosi digiti, silentium clamosum, expositio tacita, quam Musam Polymniam reperisse narratur, ostendens homines posse et sine oris affatu suum velle declarare."¹⁶ For those who would prefer to regard her as the Muse of oratory, Gyraldus quoted a very different verse: "Rhetoricos dictat Polyhymnia musa colores."

That these two incompatible traditions would occasionally be confused was perhaps to be expected,¹⁷ but this does not make the confused version the "accepted" one. Mrs. Tietze, who reproaches me for not adopting "the more conventional approach of the art historian," has cited a Polyhymnia by Lo Spagna, and a Polyhymnia by Timoteo Viti, but she has disregarded the visual evidence of Mantegna's own picture. This bouncing Muse, the most frolicking of the nine, with one leg lifted and stretched out in the air, does not convey the idea of an orator.

(6) "Wind, however, gives her gesticulation another meaning."

I wrote of the Muses on the side of Venus that a "concern with love is unmistakably expressed by the playful gesture of the concluding pair"—an explanation for which Mrs. Tietze found it necessary to introduce zoological terms. The gesture is performed by Polyhymnia, the Muse of pantomime, together with Erato, the Muse of love. Thalia, the Muse of comedy, reacts to it with amusement: *Comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia*. This Ausonian verse, quoted in my book, has been suppressed by Mrs. Tietze. It alone might have corrected her impression that the Muses were always "sacrosanct." In performing this frivolous little pantomime, Polyhymnia conforms to the character assigned to her in Plato's *Symposium* (in the fifteenth century the basic classical text on Love) and expounded in Marsilio Ficino's commentary *De Amore*. Plato wrote of "the vulgar Polyhymnia, who must be used with circumspection, that the pleasure be enjoyed but may not generate licentiousness; just as in my own art [as a physician] it is a great matter so to regulate the desires of the epicure that he may gratify his tastes without the attendant evil of disease."¹⁸ Or in Ficino's words: "There are two kinds of melodies in music. The one is grave and steady, the other *molle atque lascivum*. . . . The former he [Plato] assigned in the *Symposium* to the muse Urania, the latter to Polyhymnia."¹⁹ Concerning the gesture itself, Mrs. Tietze dispenses some esoteric information about the exclusion of index fingers, which she claims to have derived from Karl Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, 1890. This not only introduces another false note, but also quite a few false notions, her generalization being again based on a

single paragraph in Sittl's book (p. 101) and contradicted by the two paragraphs following (pp. 102ff.). To correct her information on these irrelevancies from more pertinent sources, it may suffice to refer to the pantomime produced by Panurge (*Pantagruel*, II, xix) and to quote a charming passage in Apuleius: "Raising their right hand to their lips and holding the forefinger against the lifted thumb (*primore digito in erectum pollicem residente*), they venerated her [Psyche] as if she were the goddess Venus with religious adorations."²⁰ Like many other classical rituals, these ways of honoring Venus by gestures, called *χορευτικά Ἀφροδίτης φίλια* by Lucian,²¹ survive today only on the uncouth level of folk manners.

(7) "Around 1500 the word 'galante' never had the connotation that it gained in French (and that reflected from it later in Italian as well). The 'Vocabolario dell' Accademia della Crusca' translates the word as 'beautiful, ornate,' and figuratively, 'gay'."

The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* was written in Italian, and if Mrs. Tietze had fully quoted the original text instead of substituting extracts in her own English translation, her argument would have collapsed from the start. According to this very dictionary, the amorous connotations of the term *galante* are to be found in Pulci, Ariosto, and Berni. Pulci's *Morgante* was composed between 1466 and 1480, and first published in 1482-1483. The relevant passages in the *Vocabolario* (VII, 1893, pp. 24f.) read as follows:

VII. Galante, detto di uomo, vale Che corteggia le donne . . . e con più grave senso, detto così dell' uomo come della donna, vale Proclive agli amori.

IX. Si uso a significare Che ama di disonesto amore. —Pulc. L. Morg. 18, 131.

XIV. Galante, in forza di Sost., si usò per Amante, Drudo.—Ar., Sat. I, 177.

XVI. Fare il galante, vale Fare il vagheggino, ed altresì Stare sulla vita amorosa.—Bern. Orl. 36, 39.

The passage in my book (p. 46) is also misquoted by Mrs. Tietze. I wrote *cose galanti*, not *cose galante*.

(8) "More sceptical students might have asked how dancers at the time of Mantegna used to hold one another's hands. The most obvious example inviting comparison is Giulio Romano's already mentioned painting in the Palazzo Pitti. In it, the Muse next to Apollo, incidentally inscribed Polyhymnia, offers a closely related gesture."

The logic of this argument is as follows: (1) A painting by Giulio Romano is introduced to show what

15. An early work by Gyraldus ("adolescenti mihi e manus exciderat," *ibid.*, p. 19) reprinted in *Opera*, I, pp. 555-568.

16. Cassiodorus, quoted by Gyraldus, *ibid.*, p. 564.

17. For other verses in support of either view, see *Anthologia Latina*, ed. A. Riese, Leipzig, I, 1894, p. 121, no. 88; II, 1906, p. 135, no. 664a: *Flectitur in faciles variosque*

Polymnia motus or *Rhetoricos profert at quinta Polimnia sensus*. Also, Gyraldus, *Opera*, I, p. 262: *Harmoniam numeris, saltusque Polymnia iunxit*.

18. *Symposium*, 187 E, Jowett's translation.

19. *Oratio*, III, iii.

20. *The Golden Ass*, IV, 28.

21. *De Saltatione*, 10.

was customary "at the time of Mantegna." (2) The figure that "offers a closely related gesture" is in both cases Polyhymnia; and from this we are to infer (3) that the gesture is not confined to Polyhymnia but a general custom among dancers. As a matter of fact, in Giulio Romano's picture none of the Muses "offers a closely related gesture," but to add to the confusion, Mrs. Tietze has misapplied the inscriptions and mistaken Euterpe for Polyhymnia.

As for "Luca della Robbia's earlier dancing children," these again do not hold their hands like the Polyhymnia and Erato in Mantegna's picture; nor does Mr. Hinkelday's dancing master (a misnomer for the celebrated musicologist, Professor Otto Kinkeldey).

(9) "In the classic tradition the Muses were sacrosanct."

Mrs. Tietze imagines that "ever since Hesiod," that is through the whole history of Greek and Roman literature, the dancing Muses were regarded with unwavering solemnity. And she adds in the next sentence that "ever since Ausonius" (a poet of the fourth century A.D., and hence removed from Hesiod by more than a thousand years) Apollo was represented as placed in their center: "In medio residens amplectitur omnia Phoebus."

These sweeping theories are vitiated in any case by two observations: (1) The verse quoted is not by Ausonius, although like many other anonymous poems it has been included for the sake of convenience in the *Appendix Ausoniana*. (2) Mantegna's *Parnassus*, to which the verse is supposed to apply, does not represent Apollo as seated in the center of the Muses. In fact the absence of this feature distinguishes his painting from the more formal representations of *Parnassus*. "When Ausonius sings of Priapus," Mrs. Tietze explains, "he does not dare to invite the Muses *ut solent poetae, in non virgineum locum*." This negative invocation defines the nature of the poem, but the use of the Muses for this purpose is not a sign of the poet's respect. On a famous occasion in the *Fasti*, Ovid invokes them because he is puzzled by a queer name in the Roman calendar, knowing that they will further add to his confusion:

dicite, quae fontes Aganippidos Hippocrenes
grata Medusaei signa tenetis equi.
dissensere deae.²²

22. V, 7-9.

23. V, 108-110 (Sir James Frazer's translation).

24. V, 79.

25. IV, 191-194 (Frazer).

26. Pietro Bembo, "De Culice Vergilii et Terentii Fabulis," *Opera*, III, 1567, pp. 82-110; Celio Calcagnini, "Encomium Culicis," *Delitiae CC. Italorum Poetarum*, 1608, I, i, p. 517.

27. *Culex*, 6-7 (Fairclough's translation).

28. Cf. *Republic*, 545 E: solemn mockery; *Phaedrus*, 259 A: the Muses and the grasshoppers; *Ion*, 536 A: the Muses and the loadstone which "makes one man hang down from the other."

Having received from them three conflicting opinions, the poet exclaims: "What am I to do? Each side has the same number of votes. May the favor of all the Muses alike attend me, and let me never praise anyone of them more or less than the rest."²³ When he describes Calliope as a kind of slut—*neglectos hedera redimita capillos*²⁴—he means to allude to her poetic frenzy, but the figure is not noble. He is quite malicious when he inquires why Cybele is worshipped in a barbaric manner: "Grant me, goddess, someone whom I may question." The Cybele goddess spied her learned granddaughters and bade them attend to my inquiry. 'Mindful of her command, ye nurslings of Helicon, disclose the reason why the great Goddesses delights in a perpetual din.'²⁵ To Mrs. Tietze the "playful dance" of the Muses in the *Culex*, famed as a model of mock-heroic poetry,²⁶ is not sufficient to prove my point, even though the poet himself calls this dance *ludens chorea* and warns the reader at the beginning of his poem: "Whoso is ready to blame our jests and Muse, shall be deemed lighter than even our gnat in weight and name."²⁷ But the treatment of the Muses with an air of mischief is not confined to humorous literature. The same ambiguity prevails in Plato, who rarely addresses them without irony.²⁸

(10) "We are acquainted with the ideal a court was expected to represent at that time by Castiglione, who had spent his early years in Isabella's circle and his later years at the court of her favorite sister-in-law. Granted that the description given by the *Cortegiano* is only an ideal. On the other hand, a painting . . . approved by the princess . . . executed . . . by the court painter of world-wide fame, necessarily embodies a corresponding ideal."

The two works are incompatible in style and a generation apart, the manuscript of the *Cortegiano* in the Laurenziana being dated 1524.²⁹ On the other hand, there is direct evidence, in the material collected by Luzio and Renier,³⁰ of the playful and frivolous love ceremonials at the court of Mantua under Isabella d'Este. She had masters of ceremonies for these matters, first Tebaldeo, and later Equicola, who liked to introduce his amorous instructions by invoking "the shade of Ovid" as the master of lovers.³¹ To have recourse in this context to Castiglione's *Courtier*—the most hackneyed and abused of Renaissance references—is not only a flimsy evasion

29. *Il Cortegiano*, ed. V. Cian, Florence, 1929, p. ix.

30. A. Luzio and R. Renier, "La Coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXIV, 1899, pp. 111f.; also the same authors' *Mantova e Urbino: Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga nelle relazioni famigliari e nelle vicende politiche*, 1893, pp. 225f.

31. Mario Equicola, *Libro de Natura de Amore*, Venice, 1525, dedicated to Isabella d'Este. On the composition of this book, see R. Renier, "Per la cronologia e la composizione del 'Libro de Natura de Amore' di Mario Equicola," *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 212-233.

of the relevant sources,³² but it places on this author the undeserved burden of a prig, sustaining the most pompous "ideals" in a vacuum.

(11) "Isabella's many, and in part very intimate, letters do not offer the slightest clue to indicate that she had ever deviated from the behavior considered proper in a Renaissance court."

Isabella's letters give ample evidence of the frolicking spirit which I described in Mantegna's *Parnassus*. Her pronounced preference for the poet Pistoia who excelled in burlesque verse, and entertained her by a *lettera lunica*³³ or by a tragedy "in anticipation of facetious sonnets" (*per uno nuntio delli Sonetti faceti*);³⁴ her delight in listening to Ariosto,³⁵ or in perusing Boiardo's translation of *The Golden Ass*;³⁶ her amusement at the splendidly executed gestures in a Ferrarese performance of *The Eunuch*;³⁷ her patronage of a story teller as unrestrained as Bandello;³⁸ and, not least, her friendship with Paride da Ceresara whom Bandello characterized as *uomo Terenziano*³⁹—all these point to a vigorous and quite unsqueamish sense of humor. As for the proposition that Isabella never "deviated from the behaviour considered proper in a Renaissance court," this is unquestionably true, but it says little, since "the behaviour considered proper in a Renaissance court" is the very problem under discussion. Mrs. Tietze's declamations on this subject suffer from a remarkable paucity of categories.

(12) "Isabella, who came from Ferrara, had . . . been familiar with . . . the decoration of the Palazzo Schifanoja; here Mars is kneeling in full armor before Venus sitting on her triumphal car. This, turned into courtly language, is the Renaissance idea of Mars and Venus. . . ."

The fresco in the Palazzo Schifanoja represents Venus as the vanquisher of Mars, who is her captive and chained. Far from being "the Renaissance idea of Mars and Venus," this image embodies a particular theme—the triumph of Venus over Mars, the goddess of love being more powerful than the god of strife. The paintings of *Mars and Venus* by Botticelli and by Piero

di Cosimo, in which the armor of the sleeping Mars serves as a toy to little satyrs or playing cupids, are idyllic variations of the same theme, which goes back to the ancient idea of *Venus Victrix*.⁴⁰ In contradistinction to this group of pictures, the *Parnassus* shows Mars and Venus as equals, the only vanquished party being Vulcan, whose jealous role defines them as lovers. But if I may quote from my book in this one instance: "The illicit love between Mars and Venus was easily ennobled by allegory. In discussing the love and procreation of the gods as metaphors for universal forces in nature, Leone Ebreo explained in his *Dialoghi d'Amore* that 'when this union of the two parents occurs regularly in nature, it is called marriage by the poets, and the partners are called husband and wife; but when the union is an extraordinary one, it is styled amorous or adulterous, and the parents who bring forth are called lovers.' It is in praise of such an extraordinary conjunction—the god of battles uniting with the goddess of love, *rerum concordia discors*—that Apollo sings and the Muses dance and Amor blows his fanfare, regardless of the protests of the Philistines (*βάνανσοι*) represented by the Dunkelmann, Vulcan."⁴¹

(13) "The pair [Mars and Venus] . . . appears in epithalamia for the most distinguished members of the Ferrarese circle, sometimes even accompanied by Vulcan."

As Mrs. Tietze refrains from quoting the relevant epithalamia, the role of Vulcan is not made clear. Are we to infer that, in honor of a princely wedding, the guests were treated to a spectacle of what Mrs. Tietze calls "the usual pair of lovers accompanied by the not at all extraordinary appendage, the unfortunate husband"? When we turn to Mrs. Tietze's "note published many years ago,"⁴² we discover what epithalamium she has in mind. It is a poem by Salimbeni celebrating the wedding of Lucrezia d'Este to Annibale Bentivoglio in Bologna. Needless to say, the poet was not so ill-advised as to compare the marriage to an "illicit affair" concerning which he had "reached" an "attitude devoid of any moral criticism." In contrast to the Lemnian legend adopted by Homer in which Venus was the wife of

32. Mrs. Tietze apparently has not read Equicola since she quotes him "after Lomazzo," an astonishing source for an author who had died in 1525 after a most prolific literary output.

33. Letter of September 14, 1499, in Luzio-Renier, *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXXIX, 1902, p. 198.

34. Letter of June 18, 1499, in A. d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, II, 1891, p. 376.

35. Letter to Ippolito d'Este, in Luzio-Renier, *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXXV, 1900, p. 228.

36. Letter of November 24, 1512, *ibid.*, p. 225.

37. Letter of February 3, 1501 to Francesco Gonzaga: "et questa sira hano facto lo Eunuch, le quale [comédie], se ben sono state piene de parole vane et de qualche erubescencia, per chi la timesse, tutavia sono state multo dilectevole et de riso et piacere assai, maxime per le voce accomodate et optimi gesti." Ancona, *op.cit.*, p. 379. Mrs. Tietze has confused the performances so vividly praised in this letter with those which Isabella saw a year later at the wedding of her brother Alfonso, on which occasion she was determined to play a domineering

role. She professed to be alternatively bored and offended by the very type of comedy she had so thoroughly enjoyed the year before and continued to enjoy in the years that followed. Bibbiena's *Calandria* was specially produced in her honor when she visited Rome in 1514. Mrs. Tietze's only source seems to be J. Cartwright, *Isabella d'Este*, London, 1903, a book to be used with the utmost caution because many of the translations are inaccurate. Cartwright distinguishes, however, the two events confused by Mrs. Tietze (pp. 183 and 212).

38. Luzio-Renier, *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.* XXXIV, 1899, pp. 79-81. In the *Novelle*, Bandello refers to Isabella at least fifteen times.

39. *Novelle*, I, 17.

40. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, 1930, p. xlii. The figure was reinterpreted by Poliziano, "In Venerem Armatam," *Opera*, 1519, fol. cii.

41. pp. 12f.

42. "Zur höfischen Allegorie der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen, Wien*, XXXIV, 1918, p. 31.

Vulcan, there was a Theban legend, known to Hesiod, which claimed that Venus was married to Mars.⁴³ For wedding celebrations this was the only acceptable version of the story; and Vulcan did not appear on these occasions as a betrayed and angry husband, but as the god of artisans producing marriage gifts. In Salimbeni's poem, he presides over the forging manufacturing arms for a tournament in honor of the bridegroom, Mars-Bentivoglio:

In questo tempo ogni fuccina ha foco
E cum fabri suoi Vulcan comende
Audiassse martellare.

Undeterred by the disparity between these two traditions, Mrs. Tietze attempted to establish a correlation between Salimbeni's text and Mantegna's picture. And since she was not aware at that time, as she is now, that "the comical episode acted out by Vulcan and Cupid has long since been noticed," she claimed that Mantegna's picture corresponds to the wedding poem in showing Vulcan "in his smithy preparing the arms for the tournament [*der in seiner Esse die Waffen zum Kampfspele bereitstellt*]." If his intentions were really so agreeable, he would not be scolding Cupid, or be teased by him.

In suggesting that the grapes near Vulcan's cave might be a *dolce grappolo*, Mrs. Tietze has obviously forgotten their color, while her alternative term, *nuovo grappolo*, would make of Vulcan not merely a "simpleton" but a "greenhorn," an idiomatic appellation hardly compatible with his age.⁴⁴ I should add that the verse on p. 10 in my book is not, as Mrs. Tietze surmises, a "Cupid's song in ridicule of the cuckold Vulcan," but a quotation from *Love's Labour's Lost*.

(14) "... the 'arrested volcanic eruption' is a natural accessory to the scene depicted. Classic authors (Nicander) inform us that Helicon began to rise heavenward when the Muses sang, and that Pegasus stopped this upward movement by stamping on the ground."

The information which Mrs. Tietze got from "Classic authors (Nicander)," must have reached her through intermediary channels, since the only surviving works by Nicander deal with remedies against poisonous

foods and snake bites. As for the attractive interpretation she has derived from this fountainhead,⁴⁵ it is rather unlucky (1) that Mantegna's Pegasus stamps his foot on the wrong side of the picture, so far away from the volcanic formation that he could not possibly stop it, and (2) that ancient legend distinguishes between earthquakes and volcanoes, and the earth merely heaved—heaved with delight (*ὕψ' ἠδονῆς*)⁴⁶—when the Muses sang.⁴⁷ Hence I prefer to hold to my view that it is perfectly proper for a *vulcanic* formation to appear over the cave of Vulcan. When Vulcan gets angry, he spouts fire out of mountains, and in the present instance he is very angry, protesting both vigorously and ineffectively against the love of Mars and Venus.

(15) "The two scourges . . . certainly have some symbolic meaning. . . . I rather presume that the connection is with Apollo, who in Rome was worshipped as 'the Tormentor' (Suetonius); A. Thomson, in his edition of Suetonius, refers to Martial XI, 15, 1, who mentions that in Suburra 'flagella tortorum' were sold. Thus the scourges may simply have been meant as an attribute of Apollo."

In Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, the phrase "Apollo Tortor" occurs in a most peculiar context (II, lxx). Suetonius refers to a disreputable banquet at which the guests were disguised as gods, Caesar Augustus playing the role of Apollo. The occasion was satirized in a lampoon which, since Mrs. Tietze refers to Dr. Thomson's edition, I shall quote in his translation together with the rest of the passage:

Caesar assumed what was Apollo's due
And wine and lust inflamed the motley crew.
At the foul sight the gods avert their eyes,
And from his throne great Jove indignant flies.

What rendered this supper more obnoxious to public censure, was, that it happened at a time when there was a great scarcity, and almost a famine in the city. The day after, there was a cry current among the people, 'that the gods had eaten up all the corn; and that Caesar was indeed Apollo, but Apollo the Tormentor'; under which title that god was worshipped

43. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 933-946. For the two traditions, see Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1894, s.v. Aphrodite, col. 2769.

44. Mrs. Tietze wonders for what purpose I added "to the English word 'sour grapes' the Greek translation in brackets." The word *δυσφάκες*, which is Aesop's, was introduced to remind the reader that what might sound like a modern colloquialism ("sour grapes") has a classical pedigree and is not out of key in a humanist argument.

45. The *Metamorphoses* by Antoninus Liberalis, an author who lived about four hundred years after Nicander, is our only source for the relevant fragment and its attribution; and this work is known by only one single manuscript (Codex Palatinus Graecus 398 in Heidelberg), which was not published until 1568. Cf. *Mythographi Graeci*, Leipzig, 1896, II, 1, pp. xxixf. The passage was unknown to either Gyraldus or Cartari, the two most voracious mythographers of the Renaissance. Contrary to what might be inferred from the list, in Pauly-Wissowa and other reference books, of presumed reflexes of Nicander in Ovid or Martianus Capella, the

incident of the earthquake is not mentioned by these authors.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

47. A parallel misapplication of a text is Mrs. Tietze's cryptic reference to what she calls "Lucian's interpretation of the Olympic lovers," according to which "it is the conjunction of Mars and Venus that createth the poetry of Homer." She does not indicate that this "profound thought which may well have influenced the program given Mantegna" occurs in Lucian's *Defence of Astrology*, 22, which explains the specific use of the term "conjunction." Quoted in full, the passage reads: "All that he [Homer] hath said of Venus and of Mars his passion, is also manifestly composed from no other source than this science [astrology]. Indeed, it is the conjunction of Venus and Mars that createth the poetry of Homer." The inference would be (1) that Mantegna's *Parnassus* is based on Homer, which Mrs. Tietze took so much trouble to deny, and (2) that it is an astrological picture, which is patently absurd.

in some quarter of the city [*quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur*].⁴⁸

To explain the particular "quarter" Suetonius had in mind, a footnote was added by Dr. Thomson, modestly referring the reader to Martial, XI, 15, 1, and quoting two lines about a female barber in Suburra "where Martial informs us that torturing scourges were sold." But on consulting Martial, XI, 15, 1, which Mrs. Tietze clearly has not done, we find that there is a misprint in Dr. Thomson's book which she has faithfully repeated; for Martial XI, 15, is a different poem and reads:

Sunt chartae mihi quas Catonis uxor
Et quas horribiles legant Sabinae:
Hic totus volo rideat libellus. . . .

which means: "I have written pages which may be read by Cato's wife and by the dreadful Sabine women, but I want this book to be full of laughter." The poem containing the "flagella tortorum" is actually II, 17, and this is one of those preposterous pieces by Martial which one cannot blame Dr. Thomson, a respectable gentleman of the eighteenth century, for not reprinting fully. In any case, it leaves the reader in no doubt concerning the "quarter" to which, he believes, Suetonius was referring by his *Apollo Tortor*, and this is the source which Mrs. Tietze invites us to apply to the *Parnassus*.

(16) "Wind feels obliged to interpret every detail of the picture."

This obligation is imposed by Isabella's own procedure in ordering pictures for her Camerino. She not only supplied her artists with minute instructions as to what they were to paint, but she insisted: "You are not to add anything of your own."⁴⁹ Pictures composed according to so precise a plan require an equally precise interpretation, and this cannot be obtained apart from a study of the literary sources. Comparisons with paintings of a different type will not do. Mrs. Tietze infers fallaciously that because in Mantegna's painting of *The Agony in the Garden* the presence of rabbits would seem to be purely incidental, their presence must be equally incidental in a painting of Venus, the text of Philostratus notwithstanding: "For you know, I imagine, what is said of the hare, that it possesses the gift of Aphrodite to an unusual degree."⁵⁰

It is an iconographical commonplace that, as attendants of Venus, hares signify love and fertility,⁵¹ though

they are not always quite so prominent as in the fresco of Venus in the Palazzo Schifanoja, which Mrs. Tietze claims to have studied closely. On the other hand, to take them in *The Agony in the Garden* for mere "accessories of the earth" is quite incompatible with the precise and learned diction of Mantegna, whose pictures give little evidence of a purely idyllic view of nature. The busy group of hares so prominently placed on the road along which Judas approaches, and also on the path before Christ, carries a definite symbolic meaning. During the Agony in the Garden, Christ begged his disciples to watch with him, but each time they fell asleep. The lively little hares are known symbols of vigilance because they never close their eyes: "quod semper apertos habeat oculos hoc animalis genus."⁵²

In exploring the varying significance of such details, we are on difficult ground, but the comfortable belief that trouble can be avoided by dismissing them as purely incidental and irrelevant to their context is to impute to a Paduan master of the Quattrocento the visual assumptions of a *paysagiste*. Himself a skilled archaeological scholar, Mantegna is known to have relished Isabella's *molto signati termini*. Hence it is also very unlikely that he would have desired, and she allowed him, to introduce into the rocky foreground of the *Parnassus* the arresting silhouette of a porcupine for no other purpose but to give "a little business to the eye."⁵³

(17) "It may not occur to the reader that Lodovico was the grandfather of Isabella's husband, dead for ten years [this is an error: he had been dead for nineteen years], so that the reference to this device seems somewhat far fetched."

Mrs. Tietze's belief that the life of an emblem ceases with the life of one of its bearers reveals a total ignorance of emblem literature. The *noli me tangere* device of the porcupine, as I stated on p. 13, derives from mediaeval and Renaissance bestiaries and was used not only by Lodovico Gonzaga, but also by Louis XII of France, and even by Sir Philip Sidney. Perhaps I should have added that Louis XII had taken the emblem from Louis d'Orléans, his grandfather.⁵⁴

(18) "The only existing tradition concerning the original arrangement [of Isabella's Camerino] dates from 1542 and shows Costa's so-called Parnassus on the left of Perugino's painting and Mantegna's Virtue and the Vices and his Parnassus facing each other."

This argument is borrowed from my book. Mrs.

48. London, Bohn's Classical Library, 1884, p. 123.

49. W. Braghirolli, "Notizie e documenti inediti intorno a Pietro Vannucci detto il Perugino," *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, II, 1873, pp. 163-166.

50. *Imagines*, I, 6 (Loeb Library, 1931, p. 27).

51. Cf. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s.v. Fecondità. G. Pauli called them "Geschöpfe aus dem Tierpark der Venus," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1921-22, p. 58.

52. Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica*, s.v. apertum (Paris, 1551, p. 44); Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, XIII, 1, s.v. vigilantia (Basle, 1575, p. 95).

53. The recent suggestion that this animal is a squirrel (*Magazine of Art*, XLII, 1949, p. 150), is rendered implausible

by the placement of the animal among rocks in a squatting position, by the absence of any flourish of the tail, and by the grey color of the fur. Grey squirrels are common in North America (*sciurus carolinensis*) but unfamiliar in Italy where the color of the common squirrel is rosso, bruno o nero (E. Tortonese, *Gli Animali superiori nella loro struttura e nella loro vita*, Turin, 1949, p. 357). For Renaissance representations of squirrels, see Ghiberti, East Door, Baptistery, Florence; Intarsia, Studiolo of Federigo da Montefeltre, Urbino; Bellini(?), *St. Jerome*, Bonacossi Collection, Florence, etc.

54. See G. F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1920, p. 140.

Tietze has adopted, without saying so, the reconstruction I have introduced as fig. B on p. 53 and which differs from that previously attempted by Yriarte.⁵⁵ Although the inventory of 1542 was published by D'Arco a century ago (*Archivio storico italiano*, 1845, Appendice II), to my knowledge no reconstruction of the Grotta has been attempted besides Yriarte's and my own. But far from being "the original arrangement," as mistakenly stated by Mrs. Tietze, there is evidence that this particular grouping of the pictures should not be dated before 1530-1532.⁵⁶ Mantegna's two paintings were ready before Perugino delivered his, and all three preceded the works by Costa, which in their turn were followed by those of Correggio at a distance of at least two decades. Hence an inventory which includes all of these pictures cannot possibly be described as embodying "the original arrangement."

(19) "I am satisfied with offering a few hewn stones for the construction and, if forced to advance hypotheses, I insist on introducing them as such."

This note of self-congratulation concludes an article in which some of my own hypotheses have been introduced as facts, and which altogether bristles with false generalizations: "the Renaissance idea of Mars and Venus," "the accepted interpretation of . . . Ausonius," "the Liberal Arts customarily equated with the Muses," "the explanation current in the Quattrocento of Apollo's share," Isabella's "candid awe reflected" in the decoration of the library of her sister-in-law, the Camerino as a "drawing room" for "the most select society of Italy" and at the same time "accessible to everybody, visible at any hour, in any mood," etc. It is interesting that when Mrs. Tietze protests that my reconstruction of the arrangement of the Grotta before 1530 "is unfortunately merely conjecture," she does not say that this reconstruction is presented under the title *Conjectured Arrangement of Isabella's Grotta before 1530* (p. 53). As she seems to believe that solid scholars are only rarely "forced to advance hypotheses," it is perhaps worth pointing out that hypotheses are the most vital part in the logic of exploration, and no scientific discovery can be made without them. The historian who thinks he can say *hypotheses non fingo* is either deceived or he is barren. As Poincaré observed,⁵⁷ the only vicious hypotheses are those which have hardened into customs and commonplaces and are hence mistaken for safe.

55. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XIV, 1895, p. 128; *The Art Journal*, 1898, p. 102.

56. See p. 46 n. 7 in my book.

57. *Science et Hypothèse*, IV, 9.

58. "Some Consequences of Four Incapacities," *Collected*

And of these supposedly sound assumptions, some of the most questionable in "the more conventional approach of the art historian" take on the form of linear arguments, producing a series of Polyhymnias in which one Polyhymnia "explains" a second Polyhymnia, and she a third. These are the vestiges of a method which, unbeknown to many of its adherents, rests on an evolutionary hypothesis and suffers from the inherent weakness of purely linear demonstrations in matters of fact. It is essential to a mature science, according to the logic of Charles Peirce, "to trust rather to the multitude and variety of its arguments than to the conclusiveness of any one. Its reasoning should not form a chain which is no stronger than its weakest link, but a cable whose fibers may be ever so slender, provided they are sufficiently numerous and intimately connected."⁵⁸

Throughout her article Mrs. Tietze has intimated that my style of writing is not to be trusted because it lacks the "blunt outspokenness" which lends to her own utterances the indelible mark of veracity. This reminds us a little of Malvolio: "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?" If blunt outspokenness were our only weapon, there would be an end to the use and study of symbols. We should be reduced to a choice, which Mrs. Tietze would like to force upon us, between pedantry on the one hand and fiction on the other, with boredom (not accuracy) as the prerogative of the former. In trying to fit my studies into this convenient scheme, Mrs. Tietze has misused two famous names. Mereshkowski unfortunately I have not read; and Mr. Somerset Maugham has recently explained the uselessness of symbols.⁵⁹

If symbols continue to survive, it is because there are authentic experiences for which the only just expression is indirect. "Un symbole, quoi! Tout guerrier que tu es, tu as bien entendu parler des symboles! . . ."—"J'en ai vu."—"Que faisais-tu alors?"—"Je m'approchais et c'était fini." This is the answer of Giraudoux's Hector, but the observation is as old as Plato: "Verily, Theaetetus, I perceive a great improvement . . . The real aborigines, children of the dragon's teeth, would have been deterred by no shame at all, but would have obstinately asserted that nothing is which they are not able to squeeze in their hands."

SMITH COLLEGE

Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce, ed. C. Hartshorne and P. Weiss, Cambridge, 1934, V, p. 157.

59. *The New York Times Magazine*, January 23, 1949, p. 42.



BOOK REVIEWS

E. P. DE LOOS-DIETZ, *Vroeg-Christelijke Ivoren, Studie over de Stijlontwikkeling op den Overgang van de Vierde naar de vijfde Eeuw*, Assen, Van Gorcum & Co., N. V., 1947. 181 pages, 29 illustrations on 16 plates.

It is a real pleasure for a reviewer to read a monograph on Early Christian ivory carving (despite the difficulties of the Dutch language) as thoughtful and as scholarly as the little book under consideration whose importance far outweighs its small format (9¾ x 6¼ inches) and its 155 pages of discussion. Within the rather narrow limits prescribed by the author in the Foreword—narrow in that it is quite frankly a study of style, with considerations of iconography and provenience for the most part ignored—an exacting task has been capably performed. The purpose of the author is to present a stylistic study of the ivory carvings of the late fourth and early fifth centuries and to investigate whether or not any consistent evolution can be discerned. The author emphasizes the fact that ivory carvings are essentially a luxury product, executed for the wealthy aristocracy of the Senatorial class, and often for a specific purpose for which money and time were of no object. Therefore we should expect to find—and do find—that many of them have a “rarefied” and “precious” character that sets them apart from the normal stylistic development. A counterpart for such “aristocratic” art would be found in art objects made of such a material as terracotta wherein one might expect to see a reflection of plebeian taste.

For this reason, and in order to establish a chronological stylistic sequence for the ivories, the author wisely devotes the first two chapters of the book (pp. 13-73) to a detailed study of: (1) the Western sarcophagi of the second half of the fourth century, with particular attention to those of Rome, as representing the largest body of material illustrating the evolution of style in the West; and (2) the reliefs that decorate the base of the obelisk of Theodosius I in Constantinople, dated 390-396 by the author, which serve in similar fashion to show the prevailing style of the Eastern empire near the turn of the century. There follows a discussion (chap. III, pp. 74-166) of the ivories themselves and an attempt is made to relate them to the two groups of monuments just mentioned. The limits of the study are well shown by the ivories treated, each one of which is exhaustively analyzed keeping in mind the aforementioned limitations. The earliest group, which includes the famous Symmachi-Nicomachi diptych (the prime example of an ivory of “precious” character, made in this case to celebrate the union of two powerful aristocratic families) is placed by the author in the period of A.D. 382 to ca. 400 and

the latest is dated ca. 425. The author broadens this nucleus by discussing in less detail a number of Carolingian copies of Early Christian carvings of this half century and a number of examples, such as the leaf of a diptych in the British Museum with the Archangel Michael and the Poet and Muse diptych at Monza, both assigned by previous writers to ca. 400 but which Miss Loos-Dietz, quite rightly in the opinion of the reviewer, places in the sixth century.

Since the reviewer's competency lies in the field of the ivory carvings the material of the first two chapters will be presented in a summary fashion only. The exhaustive nature of chapter I is shown by the fact that eighty sarcophagi or fragments thereof are discussed, from the Junius Bassus sarcophagus of 359 (w. 13) to that of Sextus Petronius Probus in the Museo Petriano (w. 35) for which the author advances cogent reasons for dating in 410 rather than a decade or two earlier.¹ The mid-fourth century group, centering around the Junius Bassus columnar example and the double-frieze sarcophagus of the Two Brothers in the Lateran (w. 91), exhibits a reaction against the rigidity and decadence of the Constantinian style and a return to “classicism.” This “classicism” is characterized by a naturalism based upon a realization of three-dimensional values, an insistence upon volume and a plastic rendering of drapery which contrasts to the “grooved” treatment used earlier in the century; particularly interesting is the new sense of spatial relationship which the author finds is used both between individual figures and between figures and background. This is Gerke's “Fine Style” which anticipates the “Theodosian Renaissance” (379-395) by several decades; it is a genuine revival of antiquity and is paralleled by similar classicistic tendencies in literature, as in the poetry of C. Claudianus. Miss Loos-Dietz is of the opinion that this style, particularly in its fine use of space, reflects a pictorial art of which we possess only traces today. Then there appears in North Italy a new spirit in the sarcophagus carvers (particularly among Marian Lawrence's “City-Gate” group) which is characterized by a flattening of forms resulting in a loss of three-dimensional plasticity and a less natural treatment of space. The artist becomes interested in spiritual rather than in humanistic values and the result, which is felt both in Rome and in Gaul, is a gradual immaterialization similar to that of Byzantine art. The author dates the disappearance of this classic revival in the sarcophagi ca. 410, thus coinciding with the Gothic invasion of Italy.

Miss Loos-Dietz shows her familiarity with the writings of Wilpert, Von Schoenebeck, Gerke, and Marian Lawrence. There seems to be no great disparity between her grouping and chronology and that of Miss

1. For the convenience of the reader I shall use the following abbreviations to indicate plate references: w. = Wilpert, *I Sarcophagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929-36; d. = R. Del-

brueck, *Die Consular-Diptychen*, Berlin, 1929; g. = A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1914.

Lawrence.² She evidently is less familiar with A. C. Soper's penetrating stylistic study of the Roman frieze-sarcophagi although her analysis of the sarcophagi studied by both often parallels his.³ Soper likewise emphasizes the influence of painting upon stone sculpture and suggests that the appearance of such pictorial subjects as the Passage of the Red Sea and the Miracle of the Quail upon sarcophagi in Italy and Gaul, at approximately the same time, points strongly to the use in both of newly available manuscripts of the Pentateuch.⁴ He also advances the reasonable theory that the employment of "convex" rather than "concave" rocks, a technical change noted by Gerke that distinguishes the "Fine Style" sarcophagi from the Constantinian ones, had its source in manuscript illumination.⁵ Soper's study has one advantage over the present work in that great use is made of iconography as a guide to his stylistic investigation. For instance, he shows that a detail of the scene of Pilate Washing his Hands, the position of Pilate who faces Christ but turns away resting his chin on his hand, although appearing on the Two Brothers and Junius Bassus sarcophagi, is rare in Rome but frequent on the double-register examples of Gaul. This, plus other iconographic and stylistic factors, leads him to the convincing proposal that the "Fine Style" came to Rome from Gaul where it had already reached its apex by ca. 450, the intermediary example probably being the Two Brothers sarcophagus. This theory necessitates a much earlier dating for the Clermont Ferrand sarcophagus (w. 99, 1-3), a dating based upon details of coiffure,⁶ than Loos-Dietz would give it.

Miss Loos-Dietz, on the other hand, evidently considers iconography relatively unimportant except as a possible indication of provenance. She considers the style of a work of art particularly significant and, to the connoisseur, the best indication of its position in the history of art and the truest reflection of the taste and feelings of the people. The present reviewer would like to counter this bias against iconography by quoting Soper, who, in discussing the lack of agreement among scholars who had previously studied the frieze sarcophagi, states: "The criterion of style . . . I find in general so dangerous and confusing that its results must be accepted only after a most cautious reference to other factors."⁷ Too much emphasis upon either style or iconography has its pitfalls, in the reviewer's opinion.

2. In ten examples taken at random I note that in three cases the dates coincide and in the others there is a difference of no more than five or ten years. Some of these differences may well be of prime importance, however.

3. A. C. Soper, "The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century," *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, 1937, pp. 148-202; this article is mentioned only once, in a footnote (p. 27, note 3), and then with no page reference.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

5. As shown on the Vienna Genesis, of the fifth century (?), but reflecting a much earlier painting convention. See *ibid.*, p. 177.

6. See Soper, *op.cit.*, pp. 167, 183, fig. 23, where the Helena coiffure on a posthumous medal of 335-337 is illustrated. The

One would have liked to see more emphasis placed upon the "Asiatic" influence which Marian Lawrence sees in the "City-Gate" group of North Italian sarcophagi and more attention given to the Ravennate group. Only a few of the latter are discussed in detail; the Liberius sarcophagus (S. Francesco I) is compared with the Junius Bassus example and S. Francesco II to Lateran sarcophagus No. 174 (w. 121, 2-4) but no consideration is given to the possibility that the former is an importation from Constantinople as suggested by Morey and reaffirmed by Lawrence.⁸

The detailed study of the Theodosian base in Constantinople is a sound piece of work. However, the marked difference seen by the author between the style of Master A, who carved the SE and SW sides (390-393) characterized as a "master of perspective and group construction," and that of Master B who did the NW and NE reliefs (ca. 396) and is considered an exponent of a "new" more abstract and transcendental style is not apparent to this reviewer from the photographs. Using this base as a fixed focus Miss Loos-Dietz brings in other "Eastern" examples, such as the silver Missorium of Theodosius I (A.D. 388; D. 62), the Arcadius column, which she dates 401/402 to 421 and the diptych of Constantius III (417; D. 36). Particularly interesting is the comparison between the statue of an official from Aphrodisias, now in Constantinople (fig. 16), which she dates in 420, and the diptych of a functionary at Novara of ca. 425 (D. 64) which it closely resembles in pose, treatment of drapery, and head-type. It is regrettable that the magnificent "Prince's" sarcophagus, recently discovered in Istanbul, is not included in this Eastern group of monuments.⁹ Soper considers it an example of a "renaissance" in the East which is wholly analogous to that which produced the "Fine Style" sarcophagi in Italy.¹⁰ Certainly paganism was not confined to Italy. Optatus, praefect of Constantinople in 404, was a pagan; the Olympic Games were celebrated in Greece until 394; and the venerated statue of Athena by Pheidias remained in the Parthenon to protect the city of Athens until about 480.

The detailed study of the ivory carvings that follows is in reality a series of small monographs. Each ivory which the author believes should fall into the half century under consideration is carefully studied and dated. The emphasis is again upon style with only passing reference to iconography and no attempt is made to

type of Pilate scene closest to the Bassus group is developed by Soper in the same article (pp. 178, 179 n. 92) and more fully in "The Italo-Gallic School of Early Christian Art," *ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, pp. 186, 187, where examples of the scene on ivories and other objects are included.

7. "The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi," p. 162.

8. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, pp. 104ff.; Marian Lawrence, *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna*, College Art Association Monographs, 2, 1945, p. 30.

9. A. Muftic, "Ein Prinzensarkophag aus Istanbul," *Muse-leri Nesriyatı*, X, 1934, pp. 1ff.; Morey, *op.cit.*, p. 104, fig. 102, who compares its style with the "imported" sarcophagi of Ravenna.

10. Soper, *op.cit.*, p. 195, figs. 52-54.

localize the individual pieces. The author's treatment is obviously much influenced by Kitzinger's excellent little handbook, *Early Medieval Art*,¹¹ particularly by his emphasis upon the influence of "sub-antique" art (that is to say, provincial Roman art that is classical in origin and general conception but not in spirit; that attempts to superimpose some abstract principle native to the region upon the natural forms of Graeco-Roman art) upon the development of early mediaeval art. This abstract "sub-antique" tradition began to exert its influence upon the great capital cities "as early as the second century, but much more definitely during the third and fourth."¹² It soon became practically synonymous with the "official" art of the empire. Both the primitive rigidity of the rectangular reliefs on the Arch of Constantine (ca. 315) and the abstract transcendentalism of the Theodosian base (390-396), the latter having a real aesthetic value, show, in the reviewer's opinion, two different stages of this process. So enamoured is Miss Loos-Dietz of Kitzinger's theory that she not only makes frequent use of such a catch phrase as "Classical art became Medieval before it became Christian," but quotes verbatim (pp. 126, 127) his lengthy description of the Apotheosis diptych in London (D. 59) which illustrates this idea.

After noting the difficulty of relating "mobile" objects such as ivories to more monumental art and the eclecticism of the examples to be treated which complicates her problem, the author proceeds to her classification. There are four groups, each based upon both type and style.

In Group A are placed the following: three pagan diptychs, the Nicomachi-Symmachi diptych in Paris and London (D. 54), the Asklepios-Hygieia diptych in Liverpool (D. 55), both from Delbrueck's group of *Priesterdiptychen* and the Probianus diptych in Berlin (D. 65); and two Christian ones, the panel in the Trivulzio collection with the Holy Women at the Tomb (D. 68), and the Munich Ascension panel from the Reider collection. The first two ivories belong to the period of pagan reaction of 382-383 when, because of the Emperor Gratian's action in forbidding pagan ceremonies and sacrifices from being defrayed from the imperial treasury, prominent aristocratic families assumed the cost of the pagan priesthods; we are likely to forget that paganism was the state religion of Rome until 382. The author would date the Nicomachi-Symmachi diptych in 392-393 (rather than accepting Delbrueck's suggestion of 401); it is an example of the "rarefied" and "precious" art mentioned earlier and is inspired by Hellenistic models. The Liverpool diptych, on the other hand, is distinctly inferior both in its figure style, based upon Roman statuary, and its handling of space. It reflects a kind of "sentimental Classicism" popular among the pagan party in the

Senate. It might well have been compared with the Probus diptych of 406 (D. 1), which exhibits the same soft plumpness of form. The Probianus diptych the author would also date in 392-393 because of its fine plastic modeling in low relief, its superior treatment of space, and its relationship to the Missorium of Theodosius (388) and the Theodosian base in Constantinople. She particularly notes that a type of hair-dressing, in which the hair is cut long and falls on the neck and shoulders, used for Probianus' secretaries, occurs on the two Theodosian monuments; she would identify the two emperors' busts depicted on the shields in the background of the ivory as Theodosius I and Arcadius. Miss Loos-Dietz agrees with Kitzinger that this renaissance movement probably started in these same aristocratic pagan circles; even if they became Christian their pagan taste would become typical of Christians and pagans alike.

The two Christian ivories are discussed in some detail with particular attention to style and the interpretation of the subject. They continue the classicistic tendency of the pagan diptychs. The author notes the use of the same cymation border on the Trivulzio ivory as appears on the Nicomachi-Symmachi and Probianus diptychs; she might well have emphasized the Roman origin of this border as proved by the researches of Weigand and E. Baldwin Smith.¹³ The Munich panel, with the Three Marys at the Sepulchre (Western) and the Ascension of Christ, is considered superior by the author to the Trivulzio ivory, which shows but two women before the empty tomb (Eastern), but neither is considered to be copied after the other, a common archetype being suggested for both. The reviewer concurs in this conclusion. No attention is given to the problem of the double-storied tomb, usually considered to be inspired by Gallic Roman monuments,¹⁴ although a number of Carolingian copies of the Munich panel—and of the Passion casket in the British Museum (Group C) and the Berlin and Paris fragments from a diptych (fig. 20; Group B) stylistically related to the above—are mentioned; the author emphasizes the fact that the Carolingian examples show the persistence of the same conflict between "sub-antique" (or non-classical) elements and classic naturalism, inherent in late antique and Early Christian art, in a later period. The Trivulzio and Munich panels are both dated ca. 400.

In Group B are a number of diptychs, both Christian and pagan, which still retain many classicistic elements although modified by other factors. The fragments from a five-part diptych in Berlin and Paris are analyzed and their original arrangement as shown by a copy of the original in the Bodleian collection, Oxford (fig. 22), is discussed. No mention is made of a panel at Nevers often thought to have been a part of the same

11. *Early Medieval Art in the British Museum*, London, 1940.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

13. Weigand, "Baalbek und Rom," *Jahrbuch des deutschen kaiserlich archäologischen Institute*, XXIX, 1914, p. 73 n. 2;

E. Baldwin Smith, "A Source of Mediaeval Style in France," *Art Studies*, II, 1924, pp. 85ff., and n. 22. Smith's study seems to this reviewer to be basic for this whole group of ivories of the fourth and fifth centuries.

14. See Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 90ff., pl. 1.

diptych.¹⁵ The style, the treatment of space and the interpretation of the subjects are discussed in some detail. The same kind of classicism is thought to be present on the sarcophagus of the Twelve Apostles in Ravenna; this is attributed to the Rinaldo workshop by Marian Lawrence and dated in the first half of the fifth century.¹⁶ A comparison between the two fragments and the Probianus diptych, the Novara diptych (ca. 425) and the Felix diptych of 428 (D. 3) leads the author to suggest a date of ca. 400 for the former. Again the limitations of the treatment, particularly the ignoring of the significant studies made by American scholars on the iconography of the two fragments, is to this reviewer a signal weakness of this type of analysis. Certainly one would think, to mention but one detail, that the peculiar "smashing" type of Massacre of the Innocents, which appears on the Berlin fragment (and on a Carolingian copy in Munich mentioned by the author; cf. G.I, XXVI, 67b), which has been so intimately related to Gaul and Spain (or to the North Mediterranean "Latin belt" including also North Italy and perhaps the Dalmatian coast) by Baldwin Smith, Soper, McDonald, and others,¹⁷ should at least have been given the honor of a footnote.

Next comes a discussion of the Andrews diptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (D. 70), which the author, although admitting that there is no certain parallel for its style in the Early Christian period, finally assigns to the first quarter of the fifth century. To this reviewer her arguments are not convincing. The swollen body forms, the harsh rendering of drapery folds, the relation of the figures to the plane, and the curiously flat acanthus border between the panels, difficult to parallel in this period as the author admits, can be paralleled in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. The figure style of a Carolingian diptych in Aachen (G.I, XII, 22) mentioned by Miss Loos-Dietz, seems stylistically much closer to the Andrews diptych than to anything certainly Early Christian. Four panels from a book cover or cathedra in Antwerp have very much the same inconsistent effect; these panels,¹⁸ as I shall show in my forthcoming book on *Early Medieval Ivory Carvings*, should be classed as Carolingian or Ottonian copies of an Early Christian ivory of the sixth century. The aforementioned borders similar to those used on the Elk Venatio diptych in Liverpool (D. 58) which the reviewer would not accept as Early Christian, are not dissimilar to those used on two Carolingian ivory plaques in London (G.I, XLVIII, 104, 105). The architectural backgrounds of the Andrews diptych may well have been copied from those that appear on the

ends of a sarcophagus in the Lateran (w. 121, 2-4) the figures of which have been reworked.¹⁹

The other diptychs placed in Group B may be only briefly noted here. They are: two panels with Apostles, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the other in Paris (Victor Gay Collection), for which the reviewer would prefer a sixth century date; the two Venatio diptychs (D. 58, 60) in Liverpool and Leningrad one of which has been mentioned; the Apotheosis diptych in London (D. 59) which the author would associate with the two-hundredth anniversary of Antonius Pius (A.D. 386) along with Weigand rather than the three-hundredth as Delbrueck suggested; the Selene-Dionysus diptych in Sens (D. 61) which is characterized as being in the "Epic-dramatic" tradition and dated ca. 390-400; the Carrand diptych with Adam and St. Paul in Florence (D. 69) with its "epic" style, dated ca. 400, partly on the basis of the arrangement and decoration of the chlamys which is compared with the treatment of the Probianus, Stilicho, Constantius III and Novara diptychs (392-393 to 417/ca. 425); all of these diptychs are included in Group B as is also the Passion diptych at Milan (G.I, p. 17, fig. 9) which is tentatively assigned to this period. Again this reviewer cannot agree, as the style and iconography of the Milan diptych suggest a Carolingian date.²⁰ Miss Loos-Dietz rightly, in my opinion, refuses to date the Archangel Michael diptych in the British Museum in the fourth or fifth century, to which it has sometimes been assigned. As proof of its sixth century date she produces an interesting point: the s-shaped curls employed for the angel do not appear until ca. 520 and contrast to the type of curly hair used just previously in the consular diptychs of Clementinus (513), Anthemius (515), and Anastasius (517; D. 16-21). She also is correct, in my opinion, in placing the Poet and Muse diptych in Monza (fig. 28), which Weitzmann and Schultz²¹ had tried to associate with the poet Claudianus, in the sixth century rather than the fourth. Her detailed analysis of this diptych, which she contrasts with the "Theodosian style" of the Stilicho diptych, also in Monza (D. 63), is wholly admirable. The diptych in Brescia with two love-pairs, compared by Weitzmann and Schultz with the Monza Poet and Muse, she is inclined to view with suspicion.

Group C is composed of a number of caskets. The author's analysis of the Brescia casket is excellent as a stylistic study but again ignores questions of iconography and provenance. Kollwitz's date in the seventies of the fourth century is rejected and, on the basis of such criteria as hair-dressing (the coiffure of Saphira on the ivory casket is compared with that of Projecta on her

15. E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, Princeton, 1918, pp. 237ff., fig. 164.

16. *Op.cit.*, pp. 4ff.

17. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 59ff., 241ff.; Soper, "The Italo-Gallic School," pp. 145ff.; A. D. McDonald, "The Iconographic Tradition of Sedulius," *Speculum*, VIII, 1933, pp. 150ff.; cf. Morey, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

18. Garucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, VI, pl. 448, 10-13

(then in the Micheli collection, Paris).

19. Marian Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West," *ART BULLETIN*, XIV, 1932, p. 133, figs. 37, 39.

20. Cf. Roger Hinks, *Carolingian Art*, London, 1933, pp. 126, 188, and n. 1, who dates this ivory in the ninth century.

21. "Zur Bestimmung des Dichters auf dem Musen-diptychen von Monza," *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XLIX, 1934, p. 128; cf. Delbrueck, "Diptychon mit Dichter und Muse in Monza," *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, 1, pp. 8-10, pl. 7.

silver casket in London dated 380-383) and the decoration of the chlamys of Pilate which is compared with a group of ivories mentioned earlier, she arrives at a date in the eighties or nineties. Soper's analysis of the same casket,²² which she evidently does not know, again has the advantage of employing iconographical as well as stylistic material. He dates the casket *ca.* 380 and places it in North Italy. Its iconography reveals an interesting combination of scenes, some of which belong to the repertory common to the Roman catacombs and the sarcophagi; others are peculiar to North Italy or the North Mediterranean "Latin belt" and often represent interesting transitional forms. Other caskets discussed are: the Passion casket in the British Museum which she relates to the Berlin-Paris fragments but considers more classical in style (her late fourth century date seems too early); the Paul and Thecla casket also in London; a panel, probably once the lid of a casket, in the Library of the Arsenal, Paris, dated *ca.* 390;²³ a panel in Dijon (fig. 25) which she admits is of mediocre style and probably represents an "under-current" (this reviewer thinks it much later); and the Pola casket, which is dated *ca.* 387-395 and compared with the "City-Gate" sarcophagus of Milan; she considers it "too classical" to be as late as the twenties of the fifth century, the date Gerke and others have given it. But no consideration is given to the fact that it was probably executed in Pola on the Dalmatian coast.²⁴ This reviewer prefers the later dating.

Group D consists of but one example, the ivory pyxis in Berlin found near Trier. The author follows Delbrueck in his suggestion that it shows Western (Gallic?) influence, rather than Morey, who calls this pyxis "perhaps the earliest Christian work of art that can be assigned to an Egyptian atelier."²⁵ The evidence of the iconography, which strongly suggests an Alexandrian source, although cited is ignored. This reviewer can see no Western influence whatsoever. The date of *ca.* 400 may be a few decades too late since its analogies appear to be close to the "Fine Style" sarcophagi.

In her summary Miss Loos-Dietz notes that there appears to have been more than one development in the ivories of this period. The normal development toward a more immaterial and abstract art is constantly being interrupted by a recrudescence of classicism. The pagan tradition responsible for these "re-births" (she notes that there was a second revival in the sixth century) proved to be amazingly stubborn.

As stated in the beginning, this is a very thoughtful and scholarly work. Most of my criticism, as already suggested, is directed at the limitations of the method employed and a tendency on the part of the author to regard the whole period as having an essential unity (although she admits in her summary that she finds no general spiritual unity!) rather than being composed of local schools each with its own tradition of iconography and style. She is to be complimented, however,

on throwing new light on many old problems. No one working in the field can afford to ignore it.

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HANS TIETZE, *European Master Drawings in the United States*, New York, J. J. Augustin Publishers, 1947. 326 pages, 160 plates. \$20.00.

In this, his most recent volume, Dr. Tietze has not attempted to assemble a body of material upon which to base a discussion of stylistic evolution, nor to investigate particular works within the production of specific artists or schools. His wish has been to appeal to a wider audience than the scholarly one—one composed of intelligent laymen and cultivated amateurs. In this country such an audience, until recently, has too seldom looked at drawings. With the layman and amateur in mind, Dr. Tietze has put together a handsome and varied volume, generously illustrated. It is in fact primarily a picture book. There are 160 plates of unusually fine quality. About twenty reproduce drawings of the fifteenth century. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries are represented by a nearly equal choice of about thirty each. The nineteenth century, as might be expected, has the largest selection, about forty. Opposite each plate is a page of text, which in addition to the usual data about measurements, media, collections, etc., contains some comment on the drawing illustrated, comment that runs usually to little more than five or six lines, occasionally to the length of the page.

In making his selection, the author has drawn upon the resources of public and private collections throughout the country. The earliest drawing reproduced was made about 1400, the latest is a self-portrait by Käthe Kollwitz. With the exception of the latter, contemporary drawings are omitted, since the author hopes to publish a selection of them later in a companion volume. The plates are arranged not in the usual division according to schools, but in an order that is roughly chronological to show the homogeneity of European art and, as Dr. Tietze phrases it, the loneliness of each one. Each was selected for some particular graphic quality which gives it charm or importance or significance in the anthologist's eyes. Anyone who has been faced with a similar problem of selection is aware of the hazards and the heart-searching entailed. It is almost certain that no two specialists would make the same choice. Part of the interest of those familiar with the field naturally lies in seeing what another has chosen for reproduction. In any anthology there must be a number of familiar and beloved favorites. What should be their proportional representation? How much spice can be added by unfamiliar drawings of definite individuality and graphic quality, if of lesser significance?

22. "The Italo-Gallic School," pp. 173ff.

23. This panel is discussed by Smith, "A Source of Mediaeval Style in France," pp. 86ff., fig. 3.

24. Cf. Soper, *op.cit.*, pp. 153ff.

25. *Op.cit.*, p. 89.

How many unknown drawings can be found that deserve to become "old favorites"?

Dr. Tietze has struck a happy balance between the important drawings of familiar masters and little-known yet accomplished drawings by men of less than prime importance. He has even published for the first time at least one drawing that surely will become widely and favorably known. By happy chance, since it is the oldest drawing reproduced, it is the first plate and it starts the volume off with a flavor of discovery and mystery, discovery since it has not been reproduced before, and mystery because even Dr. Tietze, who is very familiar with drawings of early epochs, hesitates in an attribution and only tentatively assigns it to the Franco-Flemish school while noting the possibility of a Lombard origin. The drawing, five youthful heads upon a page, admirably illustrates his point about the anonymity and impersonality of the work of the late mediaeval period, qualities which will change radically once the Renaissance has started on its individualistic path. With acquaintance only with the book's reproduction, this reviewer is inclined to believe the drawing to be of North Italian origin. In its plastic quality, its emphasis on sturdy form rather than linear grace, its staccato rhythm and masculine flavor, it seems Italianate rather than northern in character. Whatever its origin, it is powerful, puzzling, and rare.

A very small number of other plates suggest some questions of attribution or of date. For example, is the drawing for the *Equestrian Monument* actually from Antonio Pollaiuolo's own hand or does it come from his studio? Is the Morgan Parmigianino before or after the *Madonna del Collo Lungo*? In view, however, of the author's stated aims, it seems best to leave these questions unanswered for the present. Taking him upon his own terms, one can follow the reasons of his choice. There are some illuminating sequences. Each of the ten Rembrandt drawings shows a different facet of the artist's genius, yet each is profound in understanding and brilliantly simple in execution. The Lievens which immediately follows, while trying to use the same graphic vocabulary, seems loquacious and trivial. The Overbeck-Cornelius *Mutual Portraits of the Artists* is followed by the Ingres drawing of the *Guillon-Lethière Family* of the Boston Museum. The aim of the former may have been solely that of inner greatness and uncompromising austerity, but placed near the Ingres, with its lively expression in the eyes and mouths, its accuracy of related scale and its precision of form, the Overbeck-Cornelius seems a stiffly self-conscious and even somewhat pretentious drawing.

The text which accompanies certain drawings, for example, the Piranesi and the early and late drawings by Corot, is excellent—illuminating and precisely to the point, so much so that one wishes for similar analysis of the graphic qualities of other drawings such as the Reynolds, where the drawing itself is scarcely mentioned, or the Gabriel de St. Aubin where there is almost no attempt to describe the artist's very personal style. Faced with Manet's drawing of *Mlle. Dodu*, that Parisian heroine of an earlier resistance movement, one

would like to dispute the author's contention that Manet was not really a portraitist and was not interested in the features of individuals.

Descriptions of technique and handling are all too rare. And some word about the use of color, even though the reproductions are all in black and white, might have helped the amateur interpret the plates: the peculiar silvery shimmer of Delacroix's pastel, *Christ Walking on the Waters*; the enlivening quality of Daumier's occasional bright red and clear blue water color in the *Clown*; and the variety of luminous tone in Claude's warm transparent washes.

It might well be difficult to select another 160 plates which would, on the whole, rival these in quality, but considering the activity of American collectors within recent years it is startling to find that as a nation we have "an instinctive aversion to drawings," that the drawing collection of the Morgan Library has withered on the stem, and that the Vanderbilt collection at the Metropolitan has enjoyed a long slumber. Both collections have always received the serious student courteously and cordially, and given generous publication privileges to visiting scholars. In relation to European drawing cabinets these collections, like every other drawing collection in the United States, are comparatively new. There has not been time for careful cataloguing nor, until the present, have there been trained experts to undertake it. Is not the very appearance of Dr. Tietze's handsome volume evidence that there is at present anything but an aversion to drawing in the United States?

There is one unfortunate technical flaw in the book's production. The proof-reading was apparently hasty, resulting in an unusually high percentage of errors. To name a few: Leonardo da Vinci in the introduction becomes "Lionardo" in the body of the book; the Sachs, Winthrop, and Loeser drawings exchange ownership; collectors such as Bestégui, S. Kramarsky, John S. Thacher, and Lessing J. Rosenwald find changes in the spelling or the order of their names. Provincetown and Providence, K. T. Parker and R. T. Parker, are confused and Philippe Auguste is made a contemporary of Daumier! Though of minor importance, such errors mar the present volume. They could easily be avoided in a second edition.

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EDGAR PRESTON RICHARDSON, *Washington Allston. A Study of the Romantic Artist in America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948. 234 pages with index and bibliography; 59 half-tone plates, 1 color plate. \$10.00.

That solemn cortège by torchlight under the clouded summer moon that bore Allston "like a soldier to the stage" to his sepulcher in the Old Burying Ground marked with sorrowful pomp the passing of the first great figure in American Romantic painting. The grave

had closed over the last survivor of the early Romantics of the period, 1760-1830: Schiller, Runge, Géricault, Fuseli, Keats and Shelley, Beethoven and Blake, Goethe and Scott, all were gone before him.

Although in recent years we have become increasingly aware of the importance of the American Romantic artist, notably through Mr. Richardson's own earlier work, *American Romantic Painting* (New York, 1944), and James Thrall Soby's splendid catalogue of the exhibition, *Romantic Painting in America* (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1943), this latest monograph on the most important figure of the early nineteenth century in America is in no sense a repetition of what has been already written about Allston. It is a real contribution to scholarship, not only for its evaluation of Romanticism in America, but for its illumination of the development of Romantic art in Europe as well.

In 1939 Mr. Richardson defined Romanticism as the "tendency to push outward to the frontiers of experience, toward the strange, the unique, the overwhelming, the marvelous . . . to follow the lead of the emotions, which crave excitement as the reason craves surety."¹ His present book on Washington Allston is in large part an elaboration of this definition, with particular reference to Washington Allston, and the problem of Romantic art from 1760 to 1830. The later year, as the author is careful to point out, marks the end of Allston's career as an active painter (p. 158), just as it inaugurates a second and different phase of Romanticism on the European stage of art.

The book is not so much a biography of Washington Allston as it is, to quote the subtitle, "a study of Romantic Art in America." In this it is a definite clarification of Mr. Richardson's earlier writings on this subject. The aspects of the period are brought into their true and sharpest focus by the author's concentration on a single fascinating figure whose career is in itself all of Romantic art in America. The book is concerned with the Romantic Period, rather than the word, romantic, as a definition of a timeless quality revealing itself in many artists of different periods. The Romantic Period in Mr. Richardson's book is a manifestation extending from 1760 to 1830, and in American art the period marking the birth of imaginative painting in the first half of the nineteenth century. Allston and his contemporaries appear to be quite apart from the turgid phase of Romanticism beginning with the "men of 1830" in Europe that had its catastrophic end in the art-for-art's-sake movement.

In this regard, one cannot help noticing all through the book the author's rather hesitant but unmistakable repudiation of the modern point of view in art that seems to be only another symptom of the uneasiness and dissatisfaction of all thoughtful critics with the whole ridiculous circus and humbug of modernism, its aimlessness, obscurantism, and denial of all technical probity. This point of view is not stated in so many

words, but it stands out in bold-face type between the lines when the author discusses the question of originality and the substitution of private experience for monumental art (p. 131), and in his masterful analysis of the quality of primitivism (p. 43).²

There are few works in the whole range of the literature of modern art that give a more trenchant and sensitive analysis of the character of the Romantic movement: its development and implications both for European and American art. Mr. Richardson's chapter on the artistic world of 1800 is completely admirable (pp. 34-45). His chapter on "The Artist in America" (pp. 12-26) is particularly valuable for its demolition of the *frontier fallacy* and the *geographical fallacy* (pp. 13-15), the persistent notions that American art must necessarily reflect the advance of the frontier and at the same time mirror the vastness and wildness of America. We are all too familiar with the attempts of modern "Regionalists" to embody these fallacies in their work. We are grateful, too, for the author's always penetrating observations on the fluctuations of taste and critical points of view at the beginning of the modern period. Mr. Richardson writes with great sensitivity and an understanding that reveals an intuition and feeling for the process of artistic creation, as when, in his paragraph on the fiasco of *Belshazzar's Feast*, he quietly observes (p. 126), "Only an artist who has slaved at a work of which he has lost the idea can appreciate the bitterness and despair of such a labor."

If, as Mr. Richardson points out (p. 21), in a society in which only portraits were acceptable as art, Allston "was the first painter to work in this country who knew the full scope of the art of painting and used it as an imaginative language," this comprehensive imaginative effort was for Allston fraught with uncertainty and the inability to settle on his most felicitous mode of expression. The search for the ideal led down many paths; some of which, as in Allston's case, were dead ends.

If it is in the nature of the Romantic imagination to be confused or diffused, Allston is a perfect example of this trend between the sublime, the neo-classic, and the picturesque. The quality of sublimity in art, formulated by Edmund Burke in 1756, could be described as the capacity of certain pictures to *move* the beholder with *feelings* of awe, terror, and the like. The cult of the picturesque, with its emphasis on beauty as feeling, on irregularity and fancy, was only an outgrowth of the theory of the sublime. The picturesque may be said to describe any object which, because of its age, irregularity, or peculiar character, impresses the onlooker with a sense of natural wonder, as seen especially in the kind of landscapes painted by Salvator Rosa and Claude Lorrain.

Allston's attempts at the sublime, beginning with the *Deluge* of 1804, were of course an outgrowth of his training with Benjamin West. In a recent work an

1. E. P. Richardson, *The Way of Western Art, 1776-1914*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 4 n. 1.

2. See also p. 20 ("transitory effects of today") and p. 39 (failure of twentieth century art to realize its promise).

illustration of Allston's *Deluge* is confronted with a painting of the same subject by John Martin.³ Since Martin only composed his painting in 1834, the question of an influence is impossible. The embodiment in both canvases of what Burke catalogued as sublimity induced by vastness and obscurity, an echo of the gloomy pomp of Milton's descriptions of the realm of the fallen angels, is simply to be taken as an indication of how both artists illustrate one of the last great aesthetic theories of the eighteenth century. It is always apparent in Mr. Richardson's text and illustrations that Allston's quieter themes were a congenial escape from the ill-fated *Belshazzar's Feast*, that awful prison house of the imagination which his ill-advised but inevitable adventures into the sublime had built. Certainly, many of Allston's subjects, particularly his landscapes, could be classified as picturesque; and, certainly, Coleridge considered the *Diana* a typical picturesque performance. ("How exquisitely PICTURESQUE this effect is, Mr. Alston has proved in his *Swiss Landscape*."⁴) Allston's early admiration and imitation of Salvator Rosa made him the first, albeit intuitive, picturesque artist in America (p. 65 n. 2). The artist's neoclassic avatar may be illustrated by his admiration of the Apollo Belvedere and the few classic pictures that were painted probably in response to the atmosphere of Rome. Allston never entirely repudiated any of his experiments, and when he said, "The whole sympathy of my mind is with the Gothic and Romantic forms of art," it was simply an expression of what the best of his pictures reveal to us today.

This kind of eclecticism in a single artistic personality is not exclusive to Allston's artistic career, but is also true in the case of other American artists, such as Allston's youthful companion, John Vanderlyn. Vanderlyn, trained under Vincent, is usually thought of as a kind of American David on the basis of his *Marius* and his truly wonderful portraits. He also had a romantic and picturesque side to his personality, as may be seen in his landscapes and his *Last Days of Pompeii*, which for turbulence of movement and color is suggestive of Delacroix. Benjamin West, exponent of the classic and sublime, had his moments as a proto-Romantic.⁵ Thomas Cole painted canvases that have to be classified under the headings of the sublime, the picturesque, and the neoclassic.⁶ Perhaps the answer to this strange eclecticism or dichotomy illustrated in the careers of the three great imaginative artists of the early nineteenth century in America may be explained in part by Mr. Richardson's statement (p. 87): "The provincial artist is likely to be attracted by the novelties of form in foreign painting, which have the fascination of the technical assur-

ance he does not himself possess." The American artist, isolated from artistic experience and tradition, was in his first exposure to the variety of European styles and techniques to waste life in guesses and experiments, often wrong, in his search for a way to expression beyond the imitation of forms.

The one unifying factor in Allston's work which, above all others, marked his most important contribution to modern art, was his revival or reworking of the Baroque coloristic tradition, a contribution which Mr. Richardson has compared (p. 84) with the influence of Elizabethan writers on Romantic literature in New England: "For him, summing up all other elements of good painting, and giving life and poetry to the whole, was color." Allston was, indeed, the first artist to suggest the possibility of the separation of subject and style, when he said that Veronese and Tintoretto "gave so little heed to the ostensible *stories* of their compositions. . . . They addressed themselves, not to the senses merely . . . but rather through them to that region of the imagination which is supposed to be under the exclusive dominion of music" (p. 60). Allston, independent of Delacroix, Corot, and Turner, created his own language of color that was also light.

The quality of reverie which Mr. Richardson in this book and earlier articles has singled out as a specific trait of American nineteenth century painting is one of the quieter manifestations of Romanticism. It is in part a result of distilling a subject from memory and a reworking of the Renaissance and Baroque genius for imbuing the subject of a picture with a life of its own to provide the eye and mind with food for reflection and thought. As Allston himself said, "It is this imparted life that we call genius. . . . the spirit . . . discerns it in an instant, whether a picture or poem, and we pity, love, admire, or give range to the mind to travel where it listeth through the nameless regions of reverie."⁷ It is, in other words, the artist's changing remembered facts into experience with whatever overtones of associations are contained in the recollection.

Allston's conception of a picture was that it should not merely present an image to the eye but give the mind food for reverie (p. 142). This does not mean the effect of the picture was based entirely on the literary content, but rather on the total effect of "light, color, and the plastic image." One remembers the burnished autumn colors of the *Flight of Florimel* together with the lines from Spenser; the green darkness of the *Shepherd Boy* like an evocation of the muted harmony of Hawthorne's "slender and light-clad little boy . . . and eyes that seemed to mingle with the moonlight."⁸ Allston's great and new contribution to Romantic

3. Ruthven Todd, *Tracks in the Snow*, London, 1946.

4. Kathleen Coburn, "Notes on Washington Allston from the Unpublished Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, XXV, 1944, p. 251.

5. Fiske Kimball, "Benjamin West au Salon de 1802—La Mort sur le Cheval Pale," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, VII, 1932, pp. 403-410.

6. See, for an example of the sublime, the *Expulsion from Eden* (under the influence of John Martin's illustrations for

Paradise Lost), *Tornado in the Wilderness* to illustrate the picturesque, and *Dead Abel* as an instance of the neoclassic. (Cf. Soby, *Romantic Painting*, fig. 54 and Richardson, *American Romantic Painting*, figs. 97 and 94.)

7. Jared B. Flagg, *Washington Allston, Life and Letters*, New York, 1892, p. 206.

8. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Gentle Boy," *Twice-Told Tales*, Riverside edition, I, Boston, 1892, pp. 88-89.

painting was the combination of the elements of light and color to produce a mood either grand, dramatic, or mysterious, and evoking recollections of the half-forgotten world of childhood. This quality of the inner mood lighting up the canvas with an incandescence of its own does, to be sure, recur in belated individual Romantics like Ryder, Blakelock, and Fuller. As Mr. Richardson points out, it is parallel to the mood of quietism and mystery characteristic of early Romantic literature in America. It would, of course, be impossible to state that this quality is true of all of Allston's painting or of all American painting. It is so difficult to distinguish between the real and the ideal that one must think of these qualities as two interwoven threads on which all our art is strung.

Although it is difficult, and perhaps even dangerous, to speak of positive contemporary influences in Allston's work, especially in the face of the artist's own definition of originality, there is at least one painting for which the point must be raised: *The Rising of a Thunderstorm at Sea*, painted in Paris in 1804. Although in the long and careful analysis of this picture (pp. 65-66) there is no mention of a relationship, it is impossible to look at this canvas without being reminded of Turner's *Calais Pier*, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1803. The resemblance goes beyond the identical diagonal disposition of storm-tossed craft receding from the horizon and extends to the organization of the masses of sky and sea in melodramatic chiaroscuro and coloristic luminosity. Whether Allston was inspired by the Turner painting is impossible to prove. In pointing out this seeming influence, the present writer in no way seeks to disparage Allston's originality, since this may be simply another example of how Allston was able to pick up a hint from another work of art that enabled him to solve his own technical problems in an original way.

It has been suggested that pictures of Allston's like the *Flight of Florimel* anticipate the mature style of German Romantic painting of artists like Adrian Ludwig Richter (1807-1884) by more than twenty years.⁹ Actually, the resemblance between this panel and works like Richter's *Geneviève* does not extend beyond the subject of a maid in peril in a darkling wood. The rich imagery of Spenser was a great source of imaginative inspiration, not only for Allston but for quasi proto-Romantics like West and Copley. Allston's originality is shown in the way the theme is painted as a luminous color symphony based on some such Venetian prototype as Titian's *St. Jerome* in the Louvre. It has absolutely nothing to do with the oleographic color of the whole German Romantic school. Although Allston in the very last years of his life did express admiration for engravings of German Romantic paintings,¹⁰ it is unlikely that he had any acquaintance with the work of his own contemporaries in the Romantic movement in Germany.

Part of Allston's method was the reworking from

memory of themes and moods inspired by long-remembered scenes of Italy, "the *refacimenti* of his former life," as, for example, the *Italian Landscape* of 1830 (p. 146, pl. L2). This kind of drawing from the well of memory is something quite different from the return to earlier themes that we find in modern artists like Burchfield and Sheeler. When Charles Burchfield enlarges and reworks his early expressionistic water colors, it is the self-conscious and clever artist trying desperately to reinvent something new on the basis of a design that belonged to a different phase of his own development. Charles Sheeler, in redoing the timid cubist ventures of his youth into the empty and banal abstraction exhibited in the 1948 Carnegie International Exhibition, reveals the exhaustion of a creative talent rather than a thoughtful distillation of a lifetime of experience. This is something far different from, and far beneath, what Mr. Richardson describes as "the quality of experience seen through the veil of memory and transposed to another plane by having lived long within the mind" (p. 147). The phenomenon in artistic careers which Allston describes as "the unheeded flowers of childhood . . . perfuming our very graves" is an interesting manifestation, not only of the Romantic period, but in individual Romantic artists of all periods. It is psychologically a kind of journeying to the beckoning phantom of wistfully remembered youthful serenity and hope that stands in every mind. It is the very essence of what Mr. Richardson describes as the mood of reverie.

One of the most significant sections in Mr. Richardson's book is Chapter XII, in which the author analyzes Allston's philosophical ideas on art, which are particularly important, not only for this artist but for an understanding of the Romantic period in its relation to the development of the modern point of view. Of special import is the definition of the "idea of originality." Originality for Allston meant the reproduction of things seen in nature through our own feeling. This was dependent, of course, on the depth and vitality of the artist's feeling and his ability to express that effect in his work. Since no two artistic individuals are alike, this expression of the "life within," if successfully realized, must obviously have originality. One could almost say from this point of view that Allston's ideas of creative originality were the pictorial counterpart of Coleridge and Wordsworth's program for the *Lyrical Ballads*. In other words, the idea of originality had nothing whatever to do with the concept of genius as rebel and the modern fetish for the value of the new and startling. This unhappy misconception of originality, together with the primitivistic imitation of the past, led inevitably to that abstract theorizing about art and the complete breakdown between the artist and life that is the source of all the sickness of our art.

Allston is, of course, not an "original" painter in the modern sense of the word, a corrupt meaning that implies that artists must constantly invent or rediscover

9. Wolfgang Born, "Sources of American Romanticism," *Antiques*, Nov. 1945, p. 274.

10. Letter to Count Raczyński (Flagg, pp. 316-317).

something "new" in the way of distortion or abstraction in order to provide fresh titillation for critics and public who demand novelty *per se* in place of artistic integrity. There was nothing "new" about Allston's compositions or subjects: his arrangements of landscape are simply improvisations on themes by Claude Lorrain. What is new about them is the way in which Allston reworks the Venetian Baroque color formula so that color and light, or color as light, becomes the real dramatic and aesthetic content of the picture. His subject matter is drawn from the inherited repertory of western artistic tradition.

In addition to all the other factors contributing to Allston's art is the quality of reverence that is a reflection of the Romantics' turn to Christianity in place of the rationalism and atheism of the eighteenth century. Christianity and the Bible became again, as for Melville, one of the great sources of imagination. Reverence is a state of mind implying respect and even awe before an object of religious art or the approach to the task of its creation; it is inbred and not to be acquired, so that, no matter to what degree it is present or responsible for the tone of Allston's pictures, it cannot be recaptured or entirely understood by a generation like our own that respects only the material and concrete world of scientific fact. Allston's scriptural subjects were composed by more than a mere "willing suspension of disbelief," an attitude which is a sort of garment indulgently put on as a masquerade for a child by modern interpreters of art of religious and mythological content.

Although, as Mr. Richardson points out in his preface, "The History of a Reputation," Allston and his work were almost entirely neglected in the later nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, one cannot refrain from posing the question, with all deference to Mr. Richardson and his admirable rehabilitation, as to whether there is not some danger of our overestimating Allston's true stature in the total picture of nineteenth century painting. Certainly, his innovations as a colorist rival the accomplishments of Turner and Delacroix. Although some of the landscapes as evocations of experience and coloristic harmonies do bear comparison with Corot's reveries on the timeless beauty of the Italian scene, his unfortunate efforts in the sublime manner have won a permanent place in the storerooms of museums large enough to house them. Allston's portraits strike one as rather slight American variants of the kind of early Romantic portraits done by Prud'hon and Vigée Le Brun. Again, his imaginary portraits of women in reverie with titles like *Beatrice*, *Rosalie*, etc., may have been prototypes for the kind of poetic idylls of womanhood done by Rossetti and his circle; they are all of them permeated by a kind of treacly sentiment and banality of conception that is only exceeded in bathos by the verses written by Allston and his contemporaries on these same ladies. If Allston fails to attain the stature of a great artist in the international sense, it remains significant that "he was the first painter to work in this country who knew the full scope of the art of painting and used

it as an imaginative language. . . . In this enlargement of the field of painting he went on his way, now succeeding, now stumbling and failing, but without compromise and without ever abandoning his aim in order to earn a living in some other way."

So rarely in American literature on art do we find an author who can write English at all that Mr. Richardson's style of writing rises like a mesa above the desert floor. The author's prose moves with a quiet cadence entirely in harmony with that leisurely and graceful age it describes. One would like to cite many of Mr. Richardson's felicitous paragraphs, not only for their clear and aphoristic quality of expression, but for the beautiful sonority of their composition. It is almost as if the writer had intuitively keyed his tempo to the writings of Allston and his literary contemporaries quoted in the book in order to achieve a finer and more complete prosodic unity.

The illustrations for the book are on the whole well-reproduced and well-chosen: it is particularly useful to find in one collection of plates not only the well-known examples of Allston's work but also several hitherto unpublished pictures. The colored frontispiece (*The Flight of Florimel*) gives a reasonably accurate idea of the artist's color harmony. Finally, a word of praise should be said for the splendid catalogue of both known and lost works done in collaboration with Mr. H. W. L. Dana.

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WERNER WEISBACH, *Vom Geschmack und seinen Wandlungen*, Basel, Amerbach-Verlag, 1947. 112 pages, 24 plates. S.Fr. 8.80.

The interesting essay by Werner Weisbach, well known especially for his studies on the art of the seventeenth century and Impressionism, contemplates a problem which until now has been discussed only occasionally. Not many papers deal with changes and development of taste for the very simple reason that only too often "taste" and "style" have been confused and substituted for each other. A clear distinction of these two categories may be undertaken only by combining the aesthetic and the sociological approach. Actually "style" should refer exclusively to existing works of art and applied art while "taste" comprises a much broader orbit: the anonymous tendencies and trends of every man, during a specific period within a certain sociological unit. These tendencies manifest themselves in selective preferences not only for specific works of art and applied art but also in fashion, manners, habits, etc. The creative artist, as a member of a social group shares the taste of this group. In so far as he transforms this taste into a work of art he participates in the *Stil-willen* of his period, or—by individual works—he may even anticipate the taste of later generations. This act of creative crystallization translates the anonymous, receptive, passive taste into an expressive, active style. It is the task of the art historian to analyze the com-

ponents of a general *Stilwillen* and individual creative expression within a specific work of art; it is the task of the sociologist to analyze the coercive power of the general taste and its influence.

Professor Weisbach, with the mature judgment of fifty years of thinking in historical terms, first surveys the development of the idea of taste in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from Gracian to the philosophers of the Enlightenment, emphasizing especially the role of Lord Chesterfield and J. G. Sulzer. The classical concept of taste in the seventeenth century gradually gives way to more and more subjective definitions. The attitude towards the arch problems of taste—is it merely subjective, is it congenital, can it be acquired by education, is it based more on reason or on the receptiveness of the senses?—these problems are formulated and reappear with each philosopher, and, of course, with writers primarily interested in aesthetics such as Winckelmann and Herder. Then, in the nineteenth century, taste as such loses its regulative power and is contrasted with real creative power. In other words, the reliance on taste in the nineteenth century is almost identified with academism, while in contrast to it individualism and originality are emphasized as revolutionary forces.

Thus, the words "taste," "gout" and "Geschmack" now begin to change their meanings and refer more to fashion and the ability to select an aesthetically satisfying environment, almost to "culture" in the general sense of the word. Taste becomes "good taste" and no longer characterizes the ability to appreciate and judge good works of art. Specific groups begin to develop specific tastes and it depends on the groups' social and economic power whether this taste will become general and collective. The artist, however, no longer recognizes a taste whose main criteria are produced by people who have no direct relation to art and which is more and more socially conditioned.

When Professor Weisbach begins to analyze the qualities of the taste of the second part of the nineteenth century and the reason for the hostile attitude of artists toward taste, he turns to an analysis of actual works of art of this period, and this shift of approach endangers somewhat the continuity of his ideas. He selects the World Exhibition of 1851 as a turning point when the lack of quality in the products of a gradually mechanized civilization became obvious. From then on his discussion parallels the works of Lewis Mumford, Nikolaus Pevsner ("Pioneers of the Modern Movement"), and Fritz Schmalenbach (*Jugendstil*). The influences of John Ruskin, William Morris, of *The Studio*, Henry van de Velde, *Part nouveau*, and later of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* are outlined. In approaching the threshold of the twentieth century, Werner Weisbach becomes more personal in evaluating the function of taste as a creative factor. He emphasizes—quite correctly in the opinion of this reviewer—the transitory character of the *Jugendstil* and *Part nouveau*; he reminds us of the parallel survival of a classical concept of taste which blinded even a Jacob Burckhardt to the phenomenon of Rembrandt; and he quotes utterances of nineteenth

century artists from Delacroix to Cézanne, who once wrote to Émile Bernard, "taste is the best judge, it is very rare. . . ." And when Weisbach finally quotes Goethe in his conversation with Eckermann, "all epochs in regress and dissolution are subjective, but all progressing epochs show an objective trend," it becomes quite clear that the author believes that the receding creative power of collective taste and its split into quickly changing transitory fashionable "tastes" has not furthered the power of artistic expression.

The essay, tastefully printed and illustrated with reproductions of typical works of the nineteenth century, presents an extremely valuable stimulus to more expanded research in a field, still virginal, to which aesthetic, historical, and sociological thinking alike will contribute.

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ROSE H. ALSCHULER and LA BERTA WEISS HATTWICK,
Painting and Personality, 2 vols., Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 582 pages, 120 illustrations.
\$10.00

This book is the most thorough analysis of the behavior of pre-school age children in creative activities the reviewer has ever come across. It reports the findings on 149 children of eight different nursery groups, controlled by a staff of specifically trained observers over a period of one year. Twenty-one of these children were studied daily over two school years. The second volume consists exclusively of the abbreviated case histories and more than a hundred quantitative charts. The first volume consists of a discussion of these findings and 120 color plates of typical examples of the work of the two- to five-year-old children. The reproductions are accompanied by the recorded date and an abbreviated analysis or description. The price is amazingly low for the two well-printed volumes with their excellent reproductions.

The procedure of the authors is conscientious and circumspect, the style of their writing simple and clear. Their inquiry is based on a hypothesis which they found verified by their research: that "certain characteristics of products and certain characteristics of behavior—paralleled each other" (p. 186). Their analysis of the symbolical meaning of such designs as generally would be considered meaningless splotches, smears, and scribbles reveals indeed an astonishing parallelism to psychological situations which indicate that playful expressive activities can be related to conditions of the mind. If this is the case, so-called creative activities can and should be used extensively in a two-fold direction: diagnostically in order to reveal psychophysical situations which have not become overt (or to help in interpreting overt behavior), and therapeutically in order to release or to sublimate tensions and aggressions. The emphasis of the book rests on this psychological assumption and abounds in thoroughly grouped and cross-referenced material which proves of inesti-

mable value to psychologists and educators. Yet this reviewer is no psychologist and he, therefore, will have to judge this book from another angle—and there are many angles to a work so thorough and so rich in material.

Each handmade product of a child includes at least four levels of meaning. First, it is expressive of a given situation reflected in the mind of its maker and therefore as such it addresses the psychologist. The authors not only concentrate on this aspect but, in my opinion, overplay it. They eliminate to the point of exclusion the second connotation—that of chance, of non-sense, of arbitrariness. Caught in the fine meshes of their questionnaires, they (and their collaborators) see themselves forced to interpret phenomena in terms of psychological causation where the very method of their inquiry may force facts and appearances together. How many unobservable factors may go into the choice of the color red by a child who as soon as it has chosen, has turned this choice into an act of symbolic necessity for the observer! Can hesitation be checked, imitation of other children, shortcuts of approach for reasons of laziness, repetitive attitudes, etc.? There is no scientific net fine enough to catch life. The second level in children's creative products, the arbitrary one, is too evasive to be denoted except by poetical intuition (i.e. empathy). The authors fight a sincere struggle with their own awareness of this situation. They do the humanly possible to refine their method and counter-check their statements. They can argue in their favor that it is the "consistency" and "coherency" of observed phenomena which permits raising them to the nature of scientific data. It must be left to other psychologists and educators to verify or to argue the results of this book. Here it is sufficient to point out the ideas of a layman.

The third level of meaning is the evolutionary one. Not only does every product symbolize the specific situation of a child but also the age and sex factors in the anonymous biological sense. The choice of color and form, of materials and tools receives its modification from these factors. Here we are on much safer ground, and the results of careful observation are of a much more unquestioned nature. While the book concentrates on individual symbolism, nevertheless it is full of fascinating findings on the age and sex components in creative activities. These results should be made accessible in abbreviated form to teachers in kindergarten and grammar school because it would make evident that definite construction already begins in non-representational work and, while the latter will gradually recede, its positive aspects might be retained in the more mature representational work. There is also a sex factor in the choice of colors and forms which should be known to the teacher.

The fourth level of meaning is the least known in modern criticism and is also the most obscure. It deals with the facts of visual perception—with the *Gestalt* of images and with those laws of development which deal with the genesis of *Gestalt* problems. A perusal of the bibliography indicates that the authors have not

drawn from the literature of this field. According to *Gestalt* psychology every man-made product not only expresses something outside of the object but most of all it expresses itself. This seemingly self-evident statement is the one most overlooked by psychologists, educators, and critics. Only the artist himself knows it instinctively. Forms are not only signs but they are primarily forms. They come about by a "logic" of their own, line generating line, color forcing color, openings of rhythm developing their own necessary sequences. These formal motifs, which have—as it were—their own evolutionary processes, originate in perceptual images by which, and through which, the mind condenses fluctuating impressions to acts of awareness. Through the screen of perceptual images the stuff of the mind and the material of the senses is organized and takes on *Gestalt*. In these perceptual images we must see the scaffolding of all esthetic structures. Perceptual images are the preordained containers for sense and mind impressions and without them the senses and the mind could not denote their intentions. Perceptual images, then, are comparable to the "categories" of Time and Space which Kant recognized as the a priori "Anschauungsformen." In its application to children's drawings this would mean that, for instance, strokes, as among the simplest figures, not only indicate a psychological content but also a form of perception based, in this instance, on the most primitive motor action, but one which, put down on paper, will bring about a gradual genesis of its own. Strokes will generate other strokes, repetition will generate direction, direction will generate rhythm, rhythm will organize groups. (Of course, it is not the rhythm which organizes. Rather it is man who uses the inherent possibilities of rhythm and develops them.) Strokes being color on a neutral ground will by their very existence transform the white paper into an active participant and bring about such phenomena as contrast, proportion, depth, etc. These functional relationships, *Gestalt* aspects of children's art, are to some extent autonomous from psychological causations; they are purely esthetic and as such preforms to artistic creation. Of this the authors have no insight, and their findings therefore have, from the artistic point of view, only limited validity. Yet in defense of the authors one must say that the number of educators who have an awareness of these problems is extremely small. To demonstrate the point in question: the authors find that case analysis suggests that "the vertical is associated with assertive behavior tendencies" (p. 112). Associated, yes, but not generated. However, a few pages later they write: "Loewenfeld's observations, however, raise the question as to whether there may be a developmental parallelism between the sensations of standing upright and the vertical, and between the subsequent sensation of moving upright through space, i.e. of walking, and the horizontal" (p. 115). Indeed, here is the psychological basis of our primary perceptual images such as the stroke, the horizontal, the vertical, the direction, etc. This question truly raised, the authors could have come close to the first meaning of the horizontal.

Once the autonomy of the *Gestalt* is recognized, psychological factors may be adduced as modifying the design. Thus, for instance, the following astonishing statement, verified through case histories, helps to supplement the understanding of the meaning of proportion in children's drawings: "Two to five year old children whose painting was proportionate to the page, tended, as a group, to stand out for their initiative and adaptive behavior when compared with the total group. . . . The children whose work was proportionate to the page tended to come from homes with too much pressure and in which there was competition with siblings" (p. 515). In such a statement we are told *why* a child might draw proportionately to the paper but we are not told by which acts it is possible for the child to draw proportionately. It would therefore be wrong to see in an orderly drawing the *direct* symbol of an orderly behavior. Adaptive behavior has first to be screened through perceptual data such as the fixed glance at a defined space in order to become "proportionate." Such a mind-directed physiological attitude brings about the perceptual image "proportionate" which, as it were, offers its services to the adaptable child. Different then from handwriting, forms are not direct symbols of psychological factors but only indirect symbols. Only indirectly can the psychologist draw conclusions from them. It is therefore not only a matter of logic and definition if we emphasize the autonomy of the aesthetic *Gestalt*. Resulting from such a definition there derives a clarification of the required approach to a man-made product. The psychologist, the sociologist, the biologist, all have an important contribution to make to the elucidation of meanings in a work of art but they are also likely to break their tools on the hard skin of aesthetic objects, unless they learn to combine their methods with those of *Gestalt* aesthetics.

Finally the historian of art will gain from the pre-

sented material a great deal: he will doubly regret that there are no children's drawings left of the great historical masters which could have furnished us—were we provided with the insight of the authors—with valuable material for the understanding of mature artists. It would only be snobbism to say that it would not have been fascinating to reconstruct the case history of the child Michelangelo. The continuity of the life process from the small child to the adult raises the question, how many of the psychological symbolisms of color and form, discovered by the authors, would still be valid in later products or even in predilections of entire periods or styles? If, for instance, red is the choice of emotionally unstable children and precedes, besides, in the evolutionary process the predilection for blue, how much can such a statement mean for an understanding of German Expressionism with its predilection for red?

To sum up the foregoing criticism: the psychological validity of the findings of this book can only be established by psychologists. I have limited myself to an examination of the validity of the method of the authors in regard to its appropriateness to the subject. I have found their approach incomplete and their results inconclusive. Yet at the same time it must be stated that such pan-psychology is today universal and with it the misconceptions are universal. The shortcomings of this book become therefore only more conspicuous because it is such a serious effort and such a painstaking enterprise. Within its limitations it is a noble document of the perseverance, the sensitivity, and the precision of the authors. The material is vast and its presentation lucid. It is the authors' bad luck that they have come across a reviewer who is a believer in the autonomy of the aesthetic realm.

ALFRED NEUMEYER
Mills College

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

Your readers might be interested in the question of the actual master of the medals published by Mr. Edward Gans in his article, "The Cambyes Justice Medal," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, pp. 121-122.

The late Dr. Philipp Lederer, in his catalogue of the Nussbaum collection, whence the medals were acquired, considered them to be the work of an unnamed Augsburg master. It is my opinion (judging entirely from reproductions) that the medal is closely related to the works of the Zürich goldsmith medalist and seal cutter, Jacob Stampfer.

The flat relief, the placing of the figures and the way of handling the hands and legs are comparable to allegorical moralizing medals of Stampfer. His portrait and allegorical medals have wreaths surrounding the obverse and reverse and the delicate inner circle similar to the Cambyes medal. The lettering of the latter resembles that found on the cast medals of Stampfer. Especially characteristic is Stampfer's "R," the vertical line of which begins rather high and is long drawn out. Similar, too, are the letters "E," "C," "S," and "N." The arrangement of the inscription is, in my opinion, even more decisive. Compare, for example, the six lines of the inscription of the Cambyes medal with the reverse of Stampfer's *Self Portrait* (Habich, no. 855) and with the reverse of the medal in honor of Heinrich Bullinger of 1542 (Habich no. 859).

I fully agree with Gans in his dating of the medal in the middle of the sixteenth century. It was cast earlier than other allegorical medals of the Zürich Master which were coined rather than cast and which date no earlier than the year 1555. And, since Stampfer was associated with Friedrich Hagenauer and the school of medalists at Augsburg, the connection of the medals with that city is not too far-fetched.

Models for most medals having religious or moralizing subjects in the sixteenth century were usually prints

which were widely circulated. Thus it is highly likely that such models for the Cambyes medals exist; for goldsmiths of this period rarely show any ingenuity in their creations. The great exception is, of course, Peter Flötner, whose medals display imagination and skill in draftsmanship and who himself was a graphic artist of some stature.

RICHARD GAETTENS
Heidelberg, Germany

SIR:

Mr. James J. Rorimer, Curator of Mediaeval Art and The Cloisters, has drawn my attention to the regrettable fact that I misquoted his text in my "Letter" (*ART BULLETIN*, XXXI, 1949, p. 74) as it appeared in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*. I take the liberty of writing a corrected version of the first lines of my letter:

The Flabellum, a beautiful metal disc, is described as "... among the most spectacular of liturgical objects. . . . These discs, often with cruciform decoration, derived from the liturgical fans used in early Christian times . . ." (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, May, 1948, p. 240).

EDUARD STRAUSS
New York University

ERRATUM: In the June 1949 issue of *THE ART BULLETIN*, on page 89, the legend under the text illustration reads: "Milan, Cathedral, Projects for Determining Height of Nave, Aisles, Piers, and Vaults to be Erected on Foundations 90 Braccia Wide." The width of the nave foundations is not 90 braccia, but 96, as appears in the text.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- A. ADRIANI, *Testimonianze e Momenti di scultura Allessandrina*, Rome, L'Erma, 1948. 45 pages, 19 plates.
- RAY BETHERS, *Composition in Pictures*, New York, Pitman Publishing Corp., New York, 1949. 244 pages, 200 illustrations and diagrams. \$5.00.
- FRANCES BRADSHAW BLANSHARD, *Retreat from Likeness in the Theory of Painting* (2nd ed., revised and enlarged), New York, Columbia University Press, 1949. 178 pages, 8 pages of illustrations including 4 in color. \$3.50.
- Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings in Water Color*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1949. 309 pages, 104 plates. \$4.50.
- FATHER BRUNO, J.M., O.D.C., ed., *Three Mystics: El Greco, St. John of the Cross, and St. Teresa of Avila*, New York, Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1949. 187 pages, 84 illustrations. \$7.50.
- LEE BURCHWOOD, *Art Then and Now*, New York, Appleton-Century Crofts Inc., 1949. 392 pages. 208 illustrations. \$4.50.
- N. I. CANNON, *Pattern and Design*, New York, Pitman Publishing Corp., 1948. 160 pages, 200 illustrations, 12 color plates. \$6.00.
- GIACOMO CAPUTO, *Lo Scultore del grande bassorilievo con la danza delle menadi in Tolémaide di Cirenaica*, Rome, L'Erma, 1948. 33 pages. 16 plates.
- Dessins anciens et modernes, Collection Delacre*, Berne, Gutekunst & Klipstein, 1949. 72 pages, 48 plates. 3 Sw. Fr.
- MAX DOERNER, *The Materials of the Artist and Their Use in Painting* (translated by Eugen Neuhaus), New York, Harcourt Brace and Co., 1949. 435 pages, 8 plates. \$4.50.
- Estampes et lithographies françaises modernes*, Berne, Gutekunst & Klipstein, 1949. 26 pages, 20 full-page plates.
- R. FAULKNER, E. ZIEGFELD, and G. HILL, *Art Today*, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1949. 519 pages, 299 illustrations. \$4.75.
- Portfolio of Prints of Paintings by Paul Klee*, Berne, Verlag Benteli for the Klee Society in Berne, 1949. 11 pages, 5 illustrations. 42 Sw. Fr.
- LESLIE WALKER KOSMOPOULOS, *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*, Munich, Bruckmann, 1949. 73 pages, 51 illustrations and 4 color plates.
- L. R. LIND, tr., *The Epitome of Andreas Vesalius*, New York, Macmillan, 1949. 103 pages and Latin text. \$7.50.
- FREDERIC NEUBURG, *Glass in Antiquity*, London, Art Trade Press Ltd., 1949. 96 pages, 32 plates. 30s.
- JOHN POPE-HENNESSY, *Donatello's Relief of the Ascension with Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter*, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949. 12 pages, 13 plates. 2s.
- LOUIS SLOBODKIN, *Sculpture Principles and Practice*, Cleveland, Ohio, World Publishing Co., 1949. 255 pages, 300 illustrations. \$5.95.
- HANS TIETZE, ed., *Tintoretto: Paintings and Drawings*, New York, Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1948. 383 pages, 300 illustrations. \$7.50.
- ALAN J. B. WACE, *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949. 150 pages. 110 plates. \$15.00.
- Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. XI, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 1948. 86 pages, 57 illustrations. Subs. \$2.00, Copy \$2.50.
- J. B. WARD-PERKINS, *The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture*, London, Oxford University Press, 1949. 32 pages, 8 full-page plates. 7s. 6d.

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